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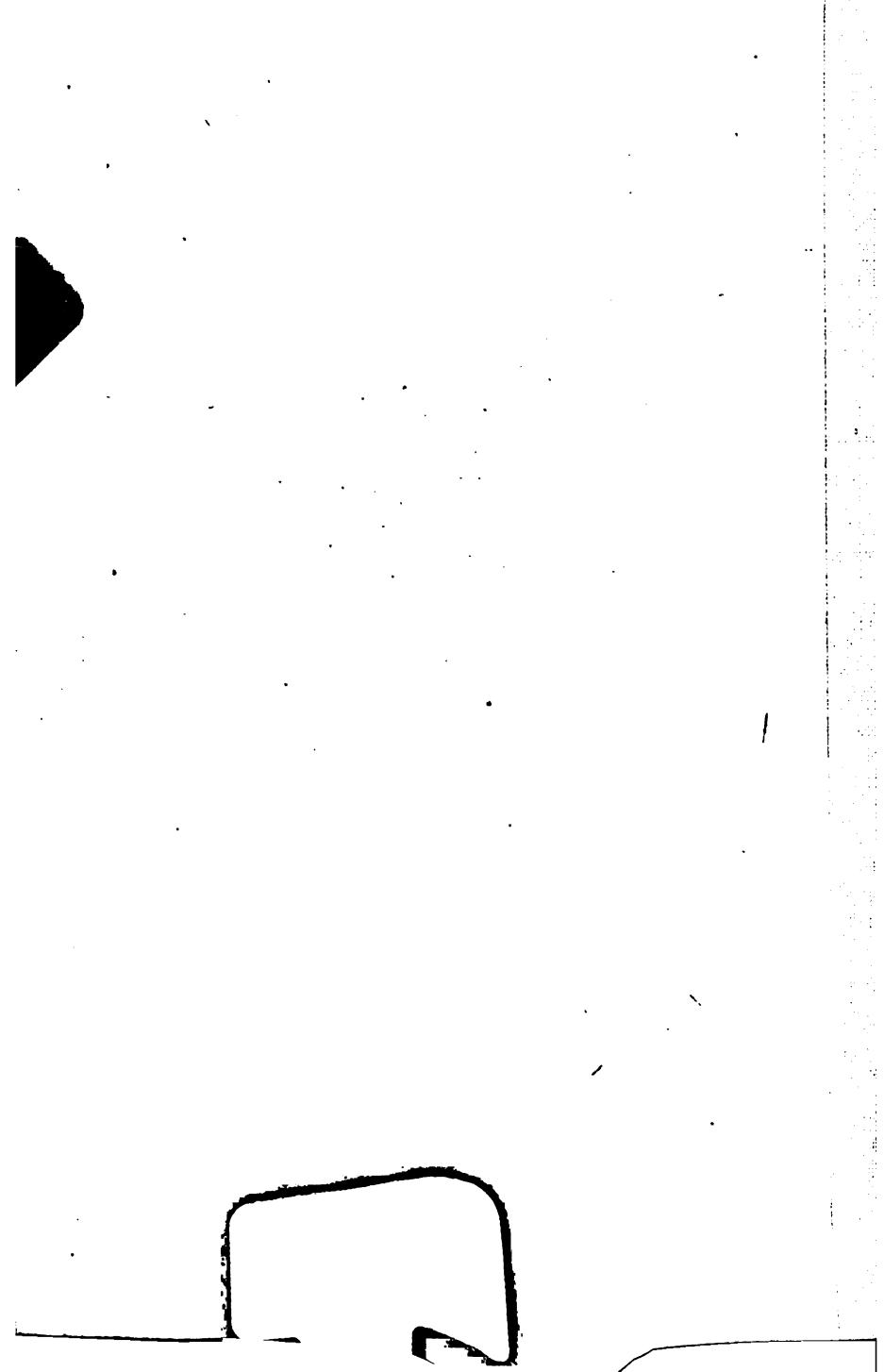
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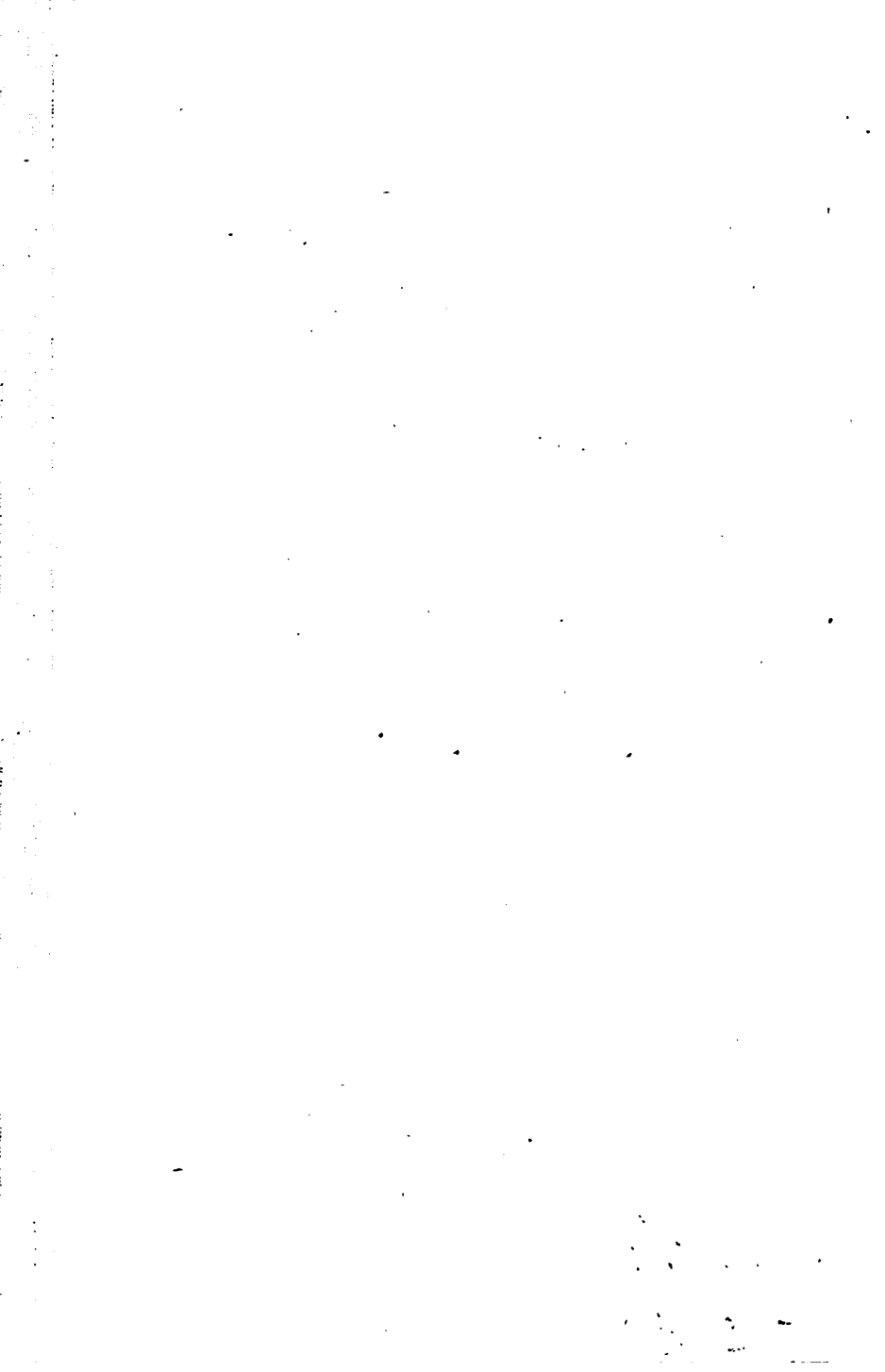
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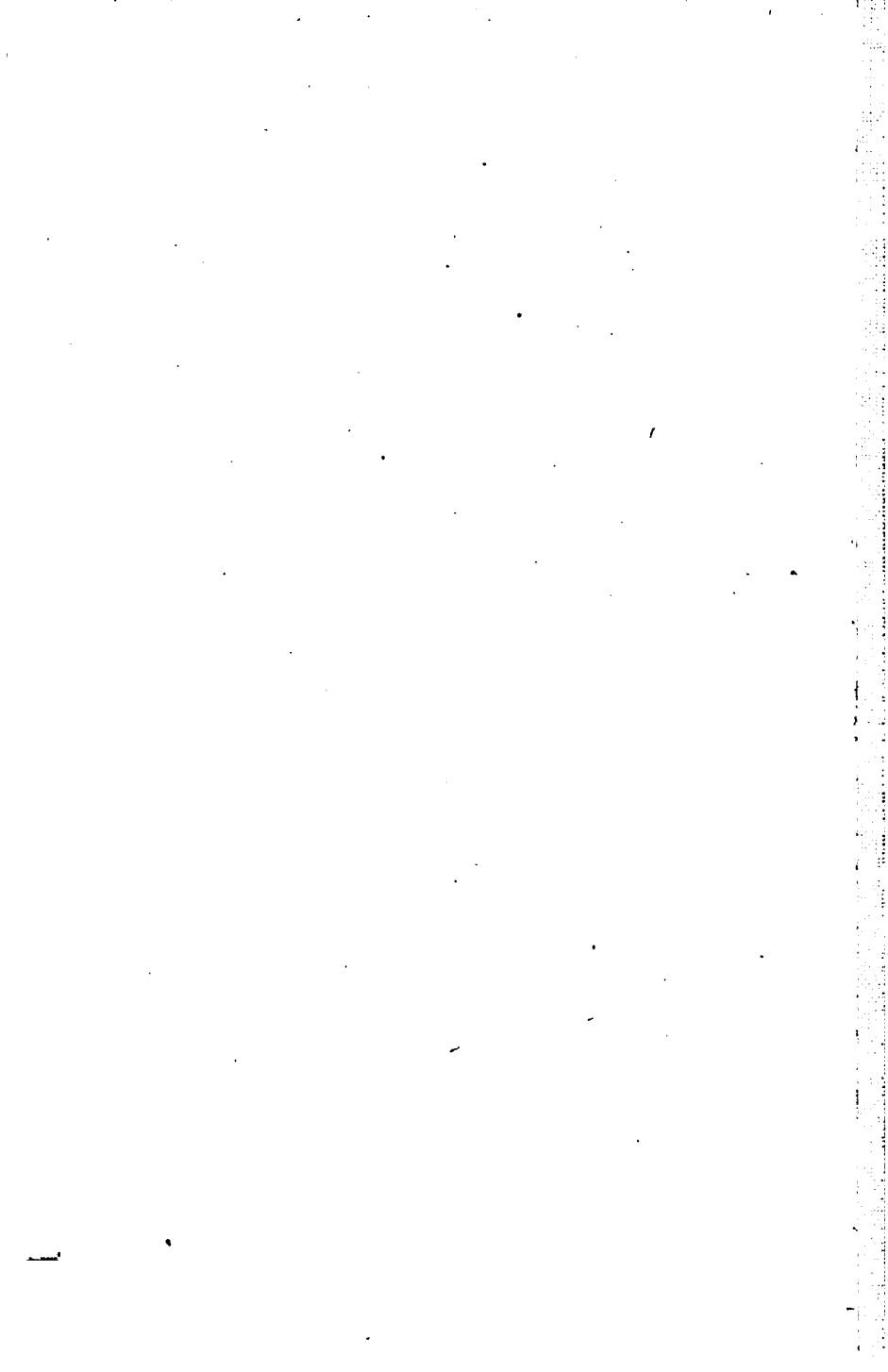
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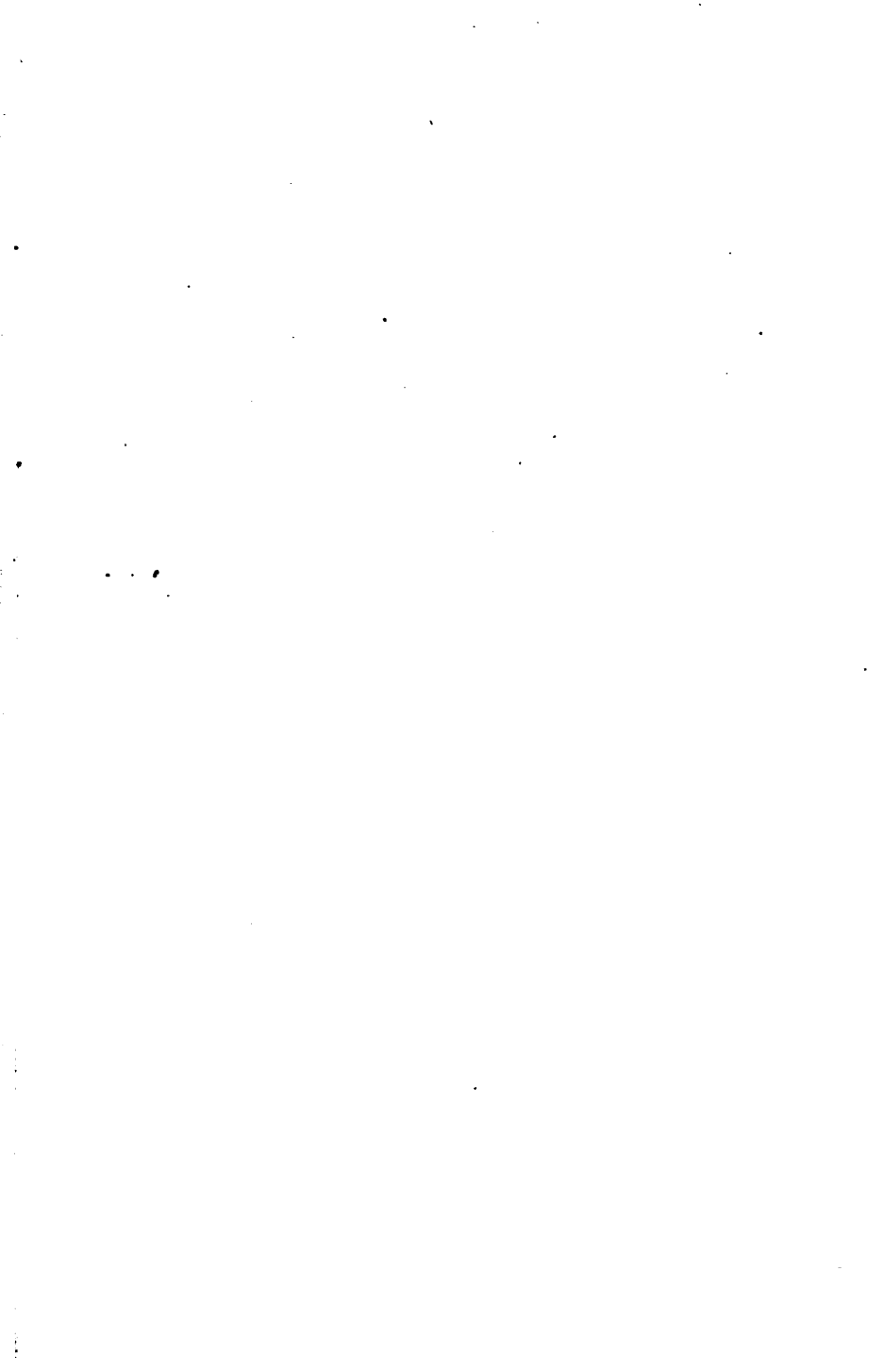
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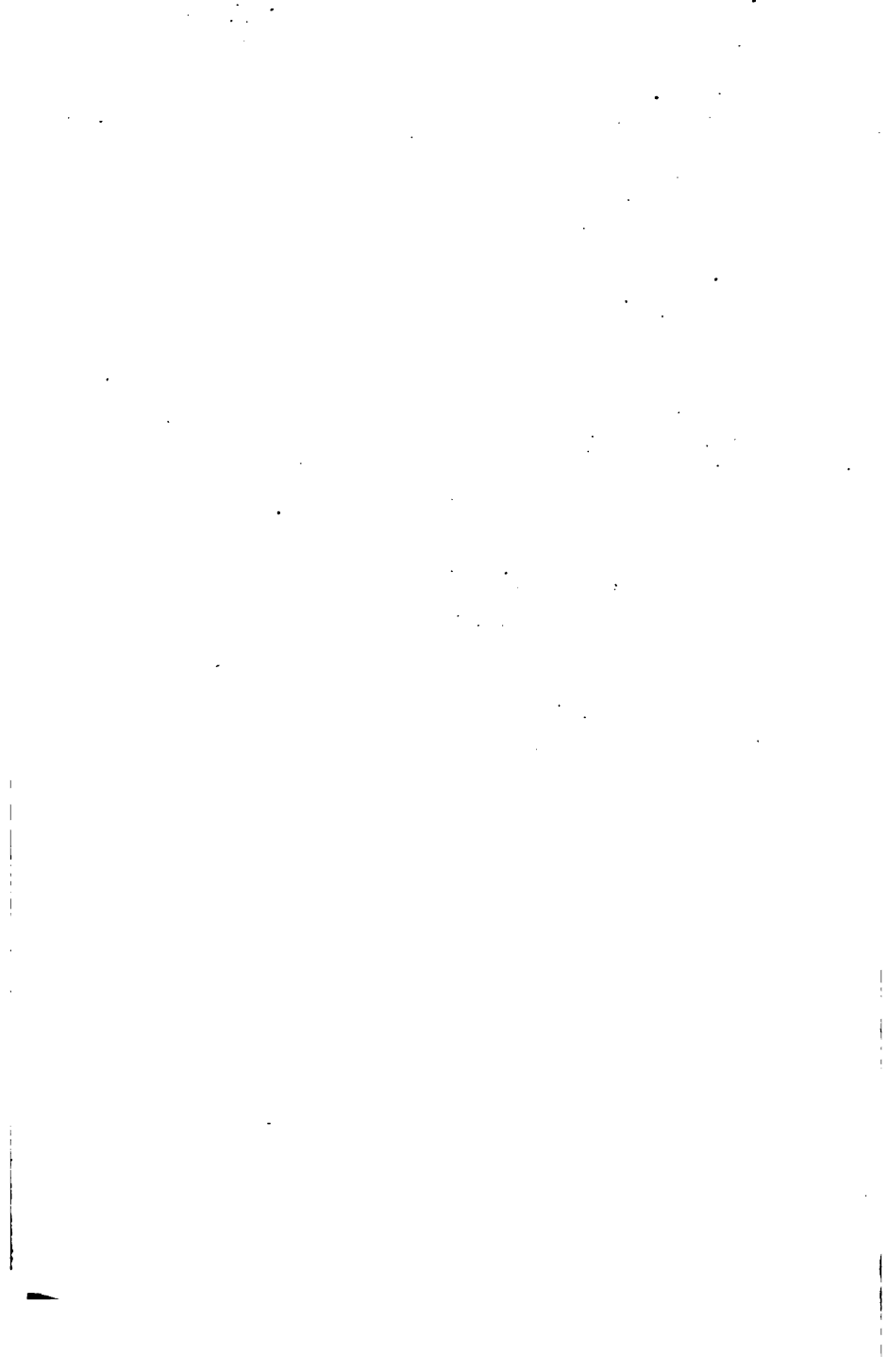




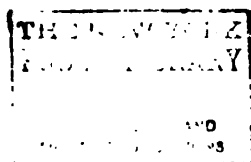




## **BUILDERS OF THE REPUBLIC**









*Painted by M<sup>rs</sup> G. B. R. in 1796*

*George Washington*

**GEO. WASHINGTON**

*From the original portrait painted by Charles Willson Peale,  
during the sittings of the convention at Philadelphia in  
1787. Now owned by Mrs. Joseph Harrison, Philadelphia*



BUILDERS  
OF THE  
REPUBLIC

SOME GREAT AMERICANS WHO HAVE  
AIDED IN THE MAKING  
OF THE NATION

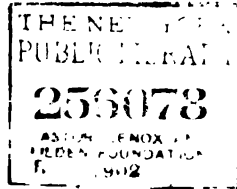
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NEW YORK  
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1902

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## INTRODUCTION

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**W**HEN it is remembered that for the first eighty years of the life of the United States of America, not only foes but even friends of the Commonwealth predicted its immediate dissolution or announced its decay and speedy demise, it is obvious that the men who built the fabric of the nation accomplished a feat which placed them in the first rank of the master workers of the race. In the splendor of the achievement, posterity is apt to forget that the birth of the Republic was not a simple event, but the result of many causes laboring to the same end, and of the work of many men united by an unswerving common purpose. The creation of the American Union involved two giant struggles. One was the war for independence from Great Britain, and the other a political war among the American people for the Federal Constitution and the present form of government.

Without the former, the New World would be still a series of British provinces. Without the latter, it would be a congeries of political units warring with one another, accursed with revolutions and unprogressive in its social development, like the Spanish-American republics of to-day. The men who made the country were obliged to struggle in battle and at the hustings, and with both bullet and ballot they accomplished marvels. A majority of them took part in both momentous fields. There were some, such as James Otis and Patrick Henry, whose name

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and fame are based upon the Revolution proper, and others like Madison and Marshall, whose glory is identified with the Constitution.

In describing the makers of the Nation it is impossible, within the compass of a single volume, to consider all who are worthy of mention. The author has chosen those who appear to have represented the political and social forces of the time. Many omitted from the discussion were men of the highest worth. Among soldiers undiscussed posterity will remember Marion, Sumter, Allen, Putnam, Warren, Greene, Fish, and Light Horse Harry Lee, while among the statesmen and patriots, Dickinson, Randolph, Rodney, Paine, Wolcott, Lewis, Ogden, Witherspoon, Rush, Carroll, Harrison, Rutledge, Penn and Walton deserve niches in the temple of fame.

Of the twenty-five selected, twenty-four belong to the Revolutionary period, and one, Abraham Lincoln, to the Civil War in the nineteenth century. The reason of this seeming anachronism is that Lincoln, from a political point of view, was as large a factor in undoing what had been wrongfully done, and in restoring the nation to the condition planned by its founders, as any single character in the days of 1776—in the building of the Republic.

In the past twenty years, there have been so much historical study and research expended upon the Revolution and its characters, that many of our past opinions require modification, and often complete change. The opening of the Colonial archives of Great Britain, France, Spain, and The Netherlands, has rendered available an immense mass



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of material shedding light upon the subject, which in former years was a sealed book to the general student and investigator.

While much has been done in the collecting of personal and official information, as well as in the disproof of stories and accounts long enjoying credit by the general public, much yet remains for the student of the future. It is nevertheless easy to correct many erroneous statements which appear in published works on the topic, and to present to the reader the latest results of investigation and critical thought.

The twenty-five chapters of this book are studies or sketches of so many Builders of the Republic. In them the attempt has been made to picture the personality beneath the personage, and to give a fair idea of the man in all the relations of life. To do this satisfactorily has involved reference to the ancestry, education and early career, character, environment, opportunity and achievement of each. According to the individual concerned is the relative importance of these factors.

In respect to ancestry and early training, men like Franklin and Sherman, who started in poverty and through their own exertions and talent achieved greatness, are not to be measured along the same lines as Livingston, Hancock, Adams and Schuyler, who were aided from birth by wealth, family influence, and social prestige. It is the same in respect to education. From men who had the advantages of college life, cultured families and intellectual surroundings, we might indeed expect oratory and states-

## INTRODUCTION

manship of a high type but from those whose lives were a fierce struggle from childhood to the age of twenty-five, without any of the advantages named, as was the case with Patrick Henry, subsequent achievement becomes all the more extraordinary.

The complex entity we call character is of interest in the study of personality. Now and then a man is encountered who seems intended for only one purpose in life, just as the greyhound is intended by nature for running. More frequently is seen the man who is marked by organic duality. Of this Captain John Paul Jones offers a singularly appropriate illustration. To the general public he was and is the ideal sea-rover, with no thought save of the ship of which he was in command. Yet this was but one-half of the real man. Beneath the sailor was the luxurious man of culture and intellectual enjoyment. At the very opposite extreme was the wonder of the eighteenth century, Benjamin Franklin, who seems to have been a dozen men rolled into one. In the versatility of high talent and in the roles involving different mental attributes he stands almost alone among the great men of history.

Opportunity is another element which deserves consideration, and in the study of the creators of the Commonwealth the reader will find many illustrations of Shakespeare's lines "some are born great, some achieve greatness, and some have greatness thrust upon them." Philip, the "princely Livingston," was born great; James Madison achieved his greatness by the hardest and most patient work, while John Hancock had his thrust upon him.

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While gathering material abroad, the author was pleased to see that many of the characters treated in this work were appreciated by the people of other lands and languages. In London, tablets commemorate the places where Franklin lived. In Lloyds the signature of Captain John Paul Jones is preserved written by him in the visitors' book of that institution. In Paris the haunts of Franklin, Adams, Paul Jones and Gouverneur Morris are pointed out. Even in Madrid, the residence of John Jay may be found by the patriot sojourning in that beautiful city.

For aid in the various chapters of the work, thanks are due the editor of the Washington Centennial volume, Miss Hamilton and the late Benjamin F. Stevens, of London.

All families tend to dissociate as the years roll by, and those of the founders of the Commonwealth have been no exception. The portraits, heirlooms, letters and souvenirs pass into the public libraries and museums, or into the archives of historical and patriotic societies. Through this change the student is now enabled to obtain at first hand what heretofore had to be acquired from hearsay or from copies, of whose correctness there was always doubt. The author has endeavored to take full advantage of these new opportunities, and especially where newly found facts tended to enhance the brilliancy or value of great historic deeds.

She has avoided as far as possible all reference to personal faults and shortcomings, as these pertain not to history but to individuality, and are of no value in determining the relative position of a man in war, statesmanship or

## INTRODUCTION

law. Too much attention has been paid by small minds to the petty infelicities and peccadilloes of the great. Every man has some imperfection, but that imperfection has no quantitative value in estimating his influence upon his times or upon posterity. The meanness of Napoleon Bonaparte does not detract from his grandeur as a soldier or as a world-changing emperor. The fantastic ethical views of Franklin do not militate against his fame as one of the grandest philosophers of history.

It ought to fill with pride the heart of every American to realize that the Nation was born under heroic auspices, and that the men who started it upon its onward career were of such sterling nature, and superb manhood as to sustain comparison with the greatest characters in the annals of other lands. To the Builders of the Republic more than to the inexhaustible natural resources of the Continent are due the prosperity, happiness and success of the United States. South America, and probably Africa, are as rich and as well adapted for a high civilization. To the personal initiative of the creators of the Commonwealth the people of to-day owe more than to any other of the many causes which produced the United States of America.

M. A. H.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON

*Born, February 22, 1732; Died, December 14, 1799.*

**M**EN like all other living beings are molded by their environment. On the broad surface of the earth, the highest development of humanity has taken place at a few particular points. At these places the stress and clash of opposing forces have necessitated the production of specialized and usually higher types, and in obedience to the necessity the higher type has come into being. The northern and central parts of England are such localities. For centuries they were the scenes of the struggle between racial, religious, social, and political tendencies in which by degrees men of a powerful heroic nature were evolved from a simpler ancestry.

The county of Durham in the former, and of Northampton in the latter, are of especial interest to an American, because the former was the cradle and the latter the second home of the Washington race. In the former shire were bred the men, who with their colleagues of Cumberland and Northumberland resisted the forays and invasions of the fierce warriors of the North, while in the latter shire were bred the strong soldiers, who upheld the banners of England in a thousand battles on both land and sea. As far back as 1264 the Washington family was conspicuous for its physical prowess, intelligence and martial skill.

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In this year, William Washington, of Washington Parish, was an English Knight who upheld most valorously King Henry III in the Battle of Lewes. He was a worthy descendant of the Saxon Captains, who conquered that part of England in preceding generations from the Celtic owners of the soil.

In the fifteenth century the family moved from Durham to Northampton where their many excellent qualities procured for them a hearty welcome. They came by way of Lancashire and were drawn southward toward the Capital by the allurements of wealth and power. In 1533, Laurence Washington was made Chief Magistrate of Northampton, and thirteen years later he was again elected to the same high honor. His great grandsons John and Andrew crossed the ocean in 1657, and settled in Westmoreland county, Virginia, where they became owners of vast estates and growers of wheat and tobacco. Their coming had a political motive, as they had served under the luckless monarch Charles I, and had fought bravely for that king at Nasby and other engagements. During the four hundred years of which we have records, the male members of the family were marked by great vigor, a deep moral nature and sound common sense. They were never brilliant nor impulsive. They were capital representatives of the landed gentry of England, the class intermediate between the nobility and the common people, which has always been the bone and sinew of Great Britain.

The change of environment brought into being new qualities. The Washingtons who remained in the old

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country, kept on the even tenor of their ways, and neither added to nor subtracted from the record of their race. But those in America were infected by the intenser life, which marked the New World from its first settlement. The American branch culminated in George, son of Augustine Washington and Mary Ball. While his magnificent physique, military talent and common sense were seemingly derived from the paternal stock, from his mother he inherited a gentleness, a sweetness of disposition, an altruism and regard for the graces, which made the man so beloved from childhood unto death.

His first schooling was under John Hobby, who combined the three functions of being a farmer, teacher and parish sexton, and who according to a wit of that time "was in every sense a very grave teacher." His secondary education was under Mr. Henry Williams, who was a profound scholar in mathematics and a mere child in English branches. Owing to this fact, Washington's education was singularly one-sided, and to those who did not understand the conditions under which he had grown up, his mental status was a mystery. He talked and spoke in masterly manner, while his writing and spelling were fearful to contemplate.

He received a schooling however of which little or nothing is recorded, but which must have influenced his life more than all other things combined. This was the training from his mother. In her, duty was united to love, and her only aim in life was to make her boys upright, cultured Christian gentlemen. She was their playmate as well as

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teacher. She read aloud to them and in turn made them read aloud to her, correcting as they went every little slip of the boyish tongue. Her library was small, and from the modern point of view narrow in scope and limited in variety, but what there was, she made the best use of in her power. There was much practical wisdom in her maternal instincts. She saw the beneficence of physical strength and endurance, and encouraged her boys in athletic sports and games. She applauded them heartily when they excelled in jumping and wrestling, and sorrowed with them when they were vanquished, as did occur sometimes in their competitions. Owing to the fine inheritance from the father, as well as to their home influences the sons excelled in manly sports, and George from the first towered above all his playmates and friends.

Love is a divine contagion, and the warm maternal affection was answered by an equally strong filial feeling. This is best evidenced by one act, almost heroic, on the part of the future President. He had long been eager to be an officer in the British Navy. Finally, through his brother Laurence, he obtained a midshipman's warrant. This was a high honor in those days, and every young man for miles around envied him his newly gained distinction. His outfit and order to report for duty had arrived, and he, proud and happy, went to bid his mother good-by. Her grief was almost unutterable, and so affected the strong son that he threw up his commission and began the profession of land surveyor, which his mother preferred to that of a naval officer.



## GEORGE WASHINGTON

At eighteen he had become a successful surveyor, and was doing a large business. Many of his deeds and charts are still to be seen in the records of Stafford, Westmoreland, King George, Caroline, Richmond and Essex counties, Virginia.

Partly under the influence of the muse, and partly under that of the tender passion, he began about this period to write poetry, and very bad poetry, too. When he was rejected by Miss Grimes, he recorded his anguish in a funeral poem, preserved in Mount Vernon, which begins:

My poor restless heart  
Wounded by Cupid's dart.

This is merely one of many, and all of them are deliciously bad. They survey well and when measured by compasses and rulers may be classed along with his maps and surveying plans.

Between 1749 and 1752, he devoted his leisure time to military science and to broad sword and rapier fencing, becoming remarkably well informed in the one and an expert master of the latter. When nineteen years of age, he was appointed Adjutant-General of local militia. In 1753 his fame must have spread abroad, because he was selected by Governor Dinwiddie as a special commissioner to go to the commandant of the French army which had been establishing military posts on the Ohio River and inquire by what authority he was invading British soil. Washington performed this perilous task with signal success. Its dan-

## BUILDERS OF THE REPUBLIC

gers were so great that few people expected him ever to return. It was such a demonstration of corporeal strength, courage, and intelligence that as Irving says in commenting upon it: "From that moment, he was the rising hope of Virginia."

Human nature beneath the varnish of civilization is still savage. We adore the strong man as much to-day as in the times of Samson and Achilles. The young Virginia giant, who had demonstrated the possession of an intelligence, shrewdness and valor worthy of his magnificent frame, was now a commanding figure in the Commonwealth. Immediately afterwards, a force was dispatched against the French, Washington being appointed Colonel. He refused the post upon the modest plea that he was unfit, but accepted the Lieutenant-Colonelcy of the expedition. He received command of the vanguard and started several days ahead of the main body. At Great Meadows, he learned that French troops were approaching him with a view to surprise his force. He turned the tables by marching ten miles through the forest on a dark rainy night and surprised them, killing or capturing nearly all the enemy, numbering a hundred. The skill with which the victory was achieved evinced strong military talent, and was prophetic of his future career.

In 1755 he became aide-de-camp to General Braddock, and took part in the luckless expedition against Fort DuQuesne. Against Washington's remonstrance, Braddock employed conventional European tactics in marching, and was ambushed and routed. Only the courage, cool-

## GEORGE WASHINGTON

ness and genius of Washington saved the army from annihilation.

Though a blow at British prestige, the defeat put more laurels upon Washington than if it had been a victory. So strongly had he impressed himself upon the public mind, that he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of all the forces raised or to be raised in Virginia. He took part in the campaign of 1758, where he again won honors by his gallantry and skill. January, 1759, saw him happily married to Mrs. Martha Custis, of White House, near Williamsburg. The honeymoon closed by his taking his seat in the House of Burgesses, to which he had been, in the meantime, elected.

Here, when he entered the Assembly hall, he received a remarkable ovation, the members rising and cheering like mad. He tried to acknowledge the honor with a speech, but blushed and was unable to proceed. There was a painful silence, broken by the chairman who said: "Sit down, Mr. Washington. Your modesty equals your valor, and that surpasses the power of any language, I possess." Washington, tradition says, remarked to Patrick Henry afterwards: "that but for his diffidence, the Burgesses would have had a very enjoyable speech."

During the next fourteen years, his life was uneventful. He attended the House of Burgesses, where he was prominent by reason of his efficiency and common sense, but where he never made a speech so far as is recorded. The rest of his time he devoted to his estate, his family and out-door sports. Unlike the planters of his time he did

## BUILDERS OF THE REPUBLIC

not indulge in the hard drinking bouts so popular in the olden days. His kind-heartedness made him idolized throughout his part of the State. He was singularly generous and hospitable, his house in his own words "being a well crowded tavern." He took a deep interest in his neighbors and went out of his way to patch up a truce whenever there was ill-will or litigation among his acquaintances.

During this period he kept himself well informed in regard to current events, and though conservative in his views, he was firm in his opposition to the attitude of the British Administration. His views were well expressed in August, 1773, when in a discussion upon British imposts, he said,

"I will raise a thousand men, subsist them at my own expense and march with them at their head for the relief of Boston."

Elected to the First Continental Congress in 1774, he went to Philadelphia and took a foremost part in the proceedings. He was a member of the Committee which drew the famous address to the "People of Great Britain." His work in this short-lived body, which adjourned in October, was summed up by Patrick Henry, who when asked the name of the ablest man in the Congress, replied, "If you refer to eloquence, John Rutledge of South Carolina, is our greatest orator, but if you speak of solid information, practical ability and sound judgment, Colonel George Washington is unquestionably the greatest man on the floor."

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The second Continental Congress, to which he was elected a member, assembled at Philadelphia in May, 1775, and unanimously elected him Commander-in-Chief of all the Continental forces. In an age, where the use of arms was a general necessity, and a country which abounded in adventurous spirits, this action was most significant. He received his commission on June 17th, and on July 2nd reached Cambridge.

He had under him seventeen thousand troops, raw and undisciplined, so that he was compelled to train his men while at the same time he was besieging the British. He succeeded in both, and compelled the British to evacuate the city of Boston on March 17, 1776.

England now began to mass its forces in the colonies and a period of gloom was the result. The Battle of Long Island in the summer of 1776 lost New York, and after this came the sufferings of Monmouth, Brandywine, Germantown and Valley Forge, and then the sun came out and night changed to day in the great victory of Yorktown in 1781. In these weary years, Washington showed the stuff which heroes are made of. Patience, hope, courage, endurance, self control and self sacrifice shone out over and above his military and administrative genius. Deceived by friends, injured by rivals, and betrayed by those that he trusted, he never despaired and never faltered. It was a crucible in which most men would have vanished, but through which Washington came not only unscathed, but greater and nobler than when he entered it. Even in the darkest hour he never lost his spirit. What could

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be more felicitous than his making a decoration for bravery among his soldiers by sewing upon the breast of their uniforms a red flannel heart. He was too poor to make one of more ambitious material and took the only thing which came to hand.

In May, 1782, came a temptation of a different sort. The soldiers, who were dissatisfied with the administration, and the class which believed in monarchical rule formed a movement to make him king. Had he accepted there would have been no power sufficient to prevent. But not for a second would he listen to the proposal. He expressed himself with such force concerning the proposition that the author, Colonel Nicola, and the men behind him, gave up the idea forever.

Again he returned to his home at Mount Vernon and resumed his duties as a simple country gentleman. He led the Virginia delegation at the Philadelphia Convention of 1787, and was unanimously elected its President. On April 6, 1789, the electoral votes of the states were opened and counted, and Washington, who had received every ballot of the ten states which took part in the choice, was declared President of the United States of America.

He began his administration on April 30, 1789, and for eight years labored to his utmost for the welfare of the Republic. It was no easy task. New conditions had brought about new ideas and leaders, and everywhere there were controversy and political antagonism. In his own cabinet, Jefferson of Virginia and Knox of Massachusetts were bitterly opposed to Hamilton of New York. Con-

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gress was divided into warring factions, and among the common people there was endless bickering upon all matters pertaining to the State. On September 19, 1796, he wrote his famous address declining a third election. The fourth of March saw him an honored visitor at the inaugural of his successor John Adams, after which he resumed his old life as a citizen at Mount Vernon.

The following July 3rd, when war seemed imminent with France, he yielded to the entreaties of the American people and accepted a Commission as Lieutenant-General and Commander-in-Chief of all the armies raised or to be raised in the United States. Into this work, he plunged with all the vigor of youth, and while engaged in the multifarious duties of his office he weakened his constitution already enfeebled by the years and on December 12, 1799, took a severe cold from which he died two days afterwards.

No earthly magnate ever received such recognition after death from the people he had governed. Not until then did the world realize the singular grandeur of the man's life. Now that he had passed away all recognized that in him had been one of the great characters of history. The obsequies were celebrated, not only in every hamlet of the Republic, but in all the great civilized lands of the world. France went into mourning, and even Great Britain, whose pride he had humbled, joined in paying tribute to his memory. The tide of affection has never waned. Throughout the length and breadth of the Union are statues and other monuments. One of the great states bears his name, while the number of counties, cities, towns,

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avenues, streets and buildings styled after him would fill a small volume.

It was the majesty of the man which compelled the admiration of the world. It was the soul within which won all hearts. Beneath the statesman, soldier and executive was a spirit full of joy and sunlight. The cares of State or of armies never blinded him to the smaller relations and associations of life. He was as courteous to a common soldier as to a general, and as kindly to the pickaninies of his farm as to the children of the statesmen of his cabinet. He was broad in his sympathies and liberal in his beliefs. In his diary, written at a time when religious prejudices were bitter, may be found the eloquent entry,

"September 4th: Went to the Presbyterian meeting in the forenoon and the Romish Church in the afternoon."

Though an unswerving Christian himself, he allowed full latitude to the beliefs of others. Three of his warmest friends and admirers were Thomas Paine, an infidel, Thomas Jefferson a Deist, who was styled an Atheist in those days, and Benjamin Franklin, who was what the present age would call an Agnostic. Though a clumsy versifier, he had the poet's soul. He loved beauty and enjoyed its manifestations in flower, bird and beast, in river, forest and landscape, in buildings, paintings and humanity itself. Toward women his attitude was invariably that of the admirer and worshipper. Yet beneath his adoration of womanhood he had a keen practical knowledge of her infirmities. To Captain Ben Walker, who came to him for



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sympathy in some love affair, Washington laughingly said:

“Women do not die of such trifles. Write to her, Captain, and add another chapter to her book of sufferings.”

Diplomatic was his practice of sending complimentary and even flattering remarks about fair friends to mutual acquaintances. He knew that the latter would invariably read the letter to the former, and in this way he would make both happy. There was a certain drollery in the way in which he carried on this method by the wholesale. Posterity, in collecting his letters as a priceless heritage to history, has found that the great President wrote the same story or set of finely turned compliments to not one but a dozen different friends, each one of whom, of course, thought he or she was the sole possessor of the attentions. It is easy to see how Washington must have chuckled to himself as he manifolded these agreeable epistles.

Most of the world's great soldiers have been marked by sternness or reserve. Few have been characterized by a warm heart and sunny disposition. Washington at Mount Vernon was the incarnation of kindness. He sympathized with the smallest animals on his plantation and looked after their ailments with as much assiduity as a mother does to her child. He would lead wet chickens into the kitchen where they might get dry, nurse his dogs when ill, attend his horses when injured, and take a deep interest in his cattle. It is scarcely conceivable that the founder

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of the great western Republic should have made such entries in his diary as this:

“Anointed all my hounds (as well old dogs as puppies) which have the mange, with hog’s lard and brimstone.”

In duck hunting he could give points to President Cleveland, while in fishing he had angled for nearly every denizen of American waters, salt and fresh. He was a model farmer and made his estate pay well to its owner. With characteristic enterprise he bought and raised the finest varieties of seeds and the best specimens of farm animals. At agricultural fairs in several states he carried off prizes for tobacco, wheat, barley, horses, mules, bulls, cows, and sheep. He seemed as proud of one trophy from an agricultural fair as he did of mementoes of historical value. This was a massive silver cup carrying the inscription:

1790

A PREMIUM FROM THE AGRICULTURAL  
SOCIETY OF SOUTH CAROLINA

TO

GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON  
FOR RAISING THE LARGEST JACKASS.

In reading this aloud to his friends he would sometimes add, “and nothing personal intended.”

His favorite indoor amusements were cards and billiards, at both of which he played for small table stakes. At the former he was not skillful but at the latter he played a little above mediocrity.

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He had a hearty love for the theater, and especially of wholesome drama. His taste for the stage was so strong that it extended even to amateur performances. Nor were these his only diversion. The circus, menagerie and concert, appealed to him irresistibly. He had the American weakness for sideshows, and visited waxworks, marionettes, Punch and Judy-shows, dancing bears and other catch-penny attractions.

His favorite quotations were from Addison, Shakespeare and Sterne. The authors he preferred were Robertson, Vertot, Sully, Voltaire, Goldsmith, Adam Smith, Homer, Burns, Lord Chesterfield, Swift, Smollet, Fielding, and Cervantes, in addition to the three mentioned. He was not a reading man with the exception of works on the science of war and agriculture.

His was the hearty speech of the period, but much purer and cleaner than that of his compeers. If statesmanship be the creation of great plans and the working along certain pre-established lines Washington was not a statesman, but if it be a higher matter than this and based upon the principle that nations like individuals will prosper when guided by a high morality, and that the best course for a commonwealth is one marked by liberty, opportunity and rectitude, he will take rank among the great leaders of the world. His Christianity was organic and not superficial. He knew that right was bound to progress and triumph, and that evil was of its own nature ephemeral and self destructive. Certain that the Lord would take care of His own and that the universe moved according to Divine

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will, he was content with leaving things as they were or at the most of making such changes as would give a wider latitude to political action or improve the moral aspect of public affairs. He seconded heartily the endeavors of others to introduce reforms in both State and Nation. When these were once started, he aided to the best of his ability. Though nominally a Federalist, his strong religious bent and perhaps his deep love for his fellow-beings made him a member of the Jeffersonian rather than the Hamilton school of thought. His refusal of a crown and the scorn he poured upon the ideas which the decoration represented throw light upon his opinions as does the eagerness with which he resigned the Presidency at the expiration of a second term. He did not have the fear so common to ordinary statesmen that the country could not get along without him at the helm.

To every field a flower is born;  
To every heavenly house a star;  
The moon drives fast night's spectral car;  
The sun, the chargers of the morn.  
Unto each commonwealth there comes  
The man of prophecy or fate—  
A warrior 'mid the roll of drums,  
A hero from a higher state.

They loom, the landmarks of our race,  
Embodying each the living thought  
Wherewith his time and place are fraught,  
Which years deface but not efface.

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They stand like that stupendous chain  
Of statues in the Chinese land,  
Which, stretching leagues along the plain,  
At last is swallowed in the sand.

Each figure is a runic score  
Of doom and deed, of hope and need,  
Which he who runs may lightly read,  
And he who waits may ponder o'er,  
How different are the tales they tell  
To ears which have been tuned aright,  
Of thralldom's force and evil's spell,  
Of Freedom's strength and manhood's might.

The conquerors hold the thrones they wrought,  
While o'er them sages tower and seers;  
Still larger rise the pioneers  
Of progress and of human thought;  
And far above these are the forms  
Of those who lived to make men free,  
Or nobly died in war's fierce storms  
As sacrifice to liberty.

The Gracchi and Aristides:  
Bozzaris and Rienzi great,  
With Cromwell, uncrowned king of fate;  
The princes of the Maccabees;  
Stout Winkelried, brave Bolivar;  
And Toussaint L'Ouverture, the bold;  
Wallace, the flaming Highland star,  
Of chivalry the perfect mould.

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And many another doughty soul  
Who strove and struggled, dared and died;  
But greater than these glorified,  
Or conquerors, whom hosts extol,  
Or kings or pontiffs of the past,  
Is he whom years will look upon  
In awe and wonder to the last,—  
Is he our father, Washington.

In speech, the counselor and sage;  
In deed, the gentle man and true;  
In peace, a sunbeam to pursue;  
In war, the leader of his age.  
A model of the olden time,  
A model for our own compeers;  
And ever stately and sublime,  
A model for all coming years.

## BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

*Born, January 17, 1706; Died, April 17, 1790.*

**T**O the question, who has been the best representative of Anglo-Saxon genius, the United States can answer by pointing to its great son, Benjamin Franklin. Now that more than a century has elapsed since his death, it is becoming easy to measure him among the many brilliant men of his period. He seems a laughing, big-hearted, intellectual Goth, leading a happy life amid a world of pigmies. His titanic energies were expanded in a dozen channels and in each, brought him lasting fame had he done naught else. Journalism and authorship, humor and philosophy, science and invention, statecraft and diplomacy, patriotism and philanthropy were successfully wooed and won by this indomitable child of the New World.

Like George Washington, his race came from Northamptonshire in England, but unlike his immortal colleague, he was the youngest of seventeen children of a man who was not overblessed with worldly goods. Washington had the advantages of the wealth and culture which Virginia afforded in the early part of the 18th century. Franklin after only a single twelvemonth at a grammar school began life's struggle at ten years of age, cutting candle wicks and filling candle molds. He was precocious, physically

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and mentally, learning to read and write fluently before going to school and displaying in conversation and conduct the knowledge of a man when he had not entered his teens. Before he was twelve, he was the bookworm of his family; but unlike most bookworms he did not allow his reading and studies to interfere with the care of his body. At twelve he was apprenticed to a printing shop and before he was sixteen, he had learned the trade; written, printed and peddled his own poems and songs: obtained a knowledge of logic, geometry, rhetoric, religious criticism and general science. Ere he was seventeen, people regarded him as a dangerous infidel.

Tiring of life in Boston, he left that city in 1723, stopped at New York and settled in Philadelphia. Relying upon the windy promises of Governor, Sir William Keith, who was to furnish him with the equipment of a publishing office, he went to London to buy the plant for a journal, but was compelled to support himself. He spent two years in the British metropolis and then voyaged to the City of Brotherly Love. Three years later, he became proprietor of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* and made it so popular by his wit, humor and able writing that it brought him in a handsome income. This would have utilized all the energies of an average man but it seems to have been no tax upon Franklin. In addition to his journalistic and literary work, he was the chief member of a debating society called the Junto which he founded shortly after coming from England. This club developed into the American Philosophical Society which for many years





**BENJAMIN FRANKLIN**

*From a painting supposed to be by Duplessis and now  
owned by the Boston Athenæum*

NEW YORK  
F. B. I.

## BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

was the most noted learned body in the New World. He continued his scientific studies and made many useful inventions and discoveries, including improved chimney flues, the open stove, and culminating in the demonstration that lightning was an electrical discharge, for which he received the Copley Medal from the Royal Society of Great Britain.

His wit and levity found vent in the famous book *Poor Richard's Almanac*, the first work of literary humor produced in the colonies and which immediately became a classic. How he did all this work is a mystery. Yet in addition to the foregoing, he took a lively interest in government affairs, accepting the position of Assembly clerk in 1736, of Postmaster of Philadelphia in 1737, and of Deputy Postmaster-General for the British Colonies in America in 1753. Besides increasing the facilities and efficiency of the service, he made it what had always been pronounced impossible, self-supporting and then profitable.

In 1754, he displayed a statesmanship of the highest type and unconsciously planned a national organization similiar to that which hundreds of minds and innumerable political forces have since brought into being. There was a prospect of war with France and the Colonial governors issued a call for a Colonial Congress to be held at Albany. The importance of the matter escaped nearly all eyes; but seven colonies, those of New England, New York, Pennsylvania and Maryland sending delegates. The only newspaper which took especial cognizance of the subject was Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette* in which, Franklin him-

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self displayed a humorous illustration of the political conditions of the time over the motto, "Unite or Die."

At Albany the great sage recommended a union of the thirteen colonies under a single centralized government but with local autonomy to each member. He advocated a "Central Council" corresponding to Congress, which was to have sole power to legislate on matters concerning the Colonies as a whole. It was to impose taxes, conduct civil government and have a national army. The President was to be the executive and was to possess a veto power upon the actions of the Council. It was a hundred-fold superior to the articles of confederation under which the thirteen States existed from the close of the Revolution until 1789. Not until the last date did men realize the difficulties which beset the government of the New World: not until after they had studied and debated for months and years under the strongest pressure possible did they evolve the present Constitution which was practically a second edition of the so-called "Albany Plan" of Benjamin Franklin.

Two other acts of his career deserve notice as illustrating phases of his many-sided genius. In 1731 he founded the Philadelphia Library and broached the ideas which are now being developed into the Public Library system of the country. Twelve years later, he projected the noble academy which became the University of Pennsylvania. Here, he astonished pedagogues on both sides of the ocean by taking strong ground in favor of the useful as opposed to the ornamental studies as he termed them, which must have

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been rank heresy to every collegian of the period. Franklin's conception of a university was an institution which would fit men for the professions and such callings as demanded special culture or intellectual training. This idea was worked into concrete fact in Germany forty years afterwards, but did not crystallize into reality in the United States until the latter part of the nineteenth century, more than a century afterwards. Like the "Albany Plan" and his discoveries in electrical science it tends to show that the immortal Pennsylvanian was at least fifty years ahead of the time in which he lived; that he was a strange combination of the broad versatile intellect of the latter part of the Nineteenth century, joined to the superb physique and vigorous good nature of the middle of the Eighteenth.

If at the age of fifty-one Franklin had retired, or had passed away, he would even then have been regarded as one of the great characters in Colonial history. But now began the second chapter of his career in which he was to achieve national and international fame of the most splendid type. He went over to England as a representative of the Pennsylvania Assembly but was received with the honors due to a brilliant genius and a famous discoverer. The envoy was smaller than the man. Five years were passed in Great Britain (1757-1762) during which he was made a social, literary and political lion.

The question of the taxation of proprietary estates which he argued before the Privy Council was decided in his favor and he complimented by that body for his erudi-

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tion and eloquence. Oxford made him an LL.D. and Edinburgh University followed the example. He won the friendship of many of the leading men of England, of whom a large number have left written testimony of their high appreciation of his sterling character and varied accomplishments. So strong were the friendships contracted at this period that they were unaffected by the bitterness and zealotry aroused by the war that was ere long to follow.

In 1762 he returned to Philadelphia, where he was received as a conquering hero. The people flocked to welcome him, the Assembly thanked him in a set of formal resolutions, and the leading men of the Colony vied with one another in extending hospitality to him. He had proved himself so faithful a servant that in 1764, he was again sent to England to argue against the Passage of the Stamp Act. This time, he remained in the Mother Country for eleven years during which period he was the official agent of Massachusetts, New Jersey and Georgia and actually if not formally the envoy of the Thirteen Colonies. His vast personality soon made him conspicuous in France as well as England. On the one hand he gained the hearts of such men as Edmund Burke, Erasmus Darwin, Lord Shelburne, Lord Howe, David Hartley, and Dr. Priestley. On the other, he incurred the bitter hostility of the Lord North party and the leading courtiers about the throne. Doubtless the highest compliment he received was the warning which George III gave to his ministers against "that crafty American, who was more than a match for you all."

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This is one of the few evidences of sanity which that extraordinary monarch ever manifested.

Franklin's conduct during this exciting period was characterized by energy and industry, urbanity and wisdom, courage and zeal. His course was difficult. He was unconquerably determined to uphold the rights and liberties of the Colonies and he was opposed to any action which might tend to bring about civil war. Doubtless, he saw that the latter was inevitable and in his heart he knew that every year gained by conciliation and discussion meant increased strength and ability on the part of his fellow countrymen across the sea to make a successful resistance to Great Britain, when the final clash did come.

For although it has been overlooked by most chroniclers, no one knew better than Franklin the rapid growth that was taking place in the New World. The English court looked at the Colonists as a lot of headstrong rebellious Englishmen, who could be put down by a few regiments of soldiers. They did not seem to realize that for sixty years, there had been a steady influx of vigorous young men and women from the Old World, Scotch from Scotland, Scotch-Irish from the North of Ireland, Palatines from Germany and smaller numbers from Holland, Scandinavia which then included Finland, France and even Spain. Franklin was thoroughly informed upon this topic. He had already figured out with great skill the German element in the population of Pennsylvania, New York and New Jersey and was apparently the first to call

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attention to the fact that there was a possibility of Pennsylvania becoming Teutonic rather than Anglo-Saxon in character. He was sneered at, at the time, but after years proved the accuracy of his judgment. He saw that there were already enough stalwart immigrants in America to constitute a formidable army if they could once be organized. This opinion undoubtedly underlay the conciliatory methods which he practiced during the decade of his career in London. Not until the first shedding of blood did he leave the British Capital, where during the last year of his residence he had been treated with ignominy and insult.

He arrived in Philadelphia May 5, 1775, and within twenty-four hours the Pennsylvania Assembly unanimously elected him a delegate to the Second Continental Congress. In London, he had favored conciliation and peace; in Philadelphia he favored independence and war. He was one of the committee of five which drafted the Declaration of Independence and not long after the adoption of that instrument he was sent as a special envoy to France to secure an alliance with that country against Great Britain. Congress could not have picked out a better man. He had had sixteen years of diplomatic experience. In his leisure hours he had mastered French and gained a good colloquial knowledge of Italian and Spanish. His writings and discoveries were known to every French scholar and he had already made the acquaintanceship and even the friendship of the eminent Frenchmen who frequented the salons of London while he was a resident of that capital. Many



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of them had enjoyed his hospitality in Craven street, which at one season was the headquarters of the literary lights of both countries.

Mercurial Paris received him with open arms and placed him on a pedestal second only to Voltaire. Turgot said of him, "He tore the lightning from the skies; the sceptre from the tyrant's hand." Diderot, D'Alembert, Condorcet Condillac and the members of the school of thought known as the Encyclopedists pronounced him, "the incarnation of all practical wisdom."

His diplomatic labors form one of the brightest chapters in the history of international negotiations. It is difficult after the lapse of more than a century to realize the dangers and obstacles he encountered. In England, there were really three political tendencies, the one represented by Lord North whose policy was the suppression of the rebellion no matter what the cost; a second headed by Lord Shelburne favored reconciliation or compromise; while a third which had no particular head believed in what was termed justice. In France, the conditions were equally varied. The ministry espoused the American cause from hatred of England and a desire to humiliate and if possible ruin that nation. It is no longer a secret that Vergennes, the French minister and his colleagues, had planned a long, slow and costly war which would injure Great Britain irretrievably; the conversion of Canada, Louisiana and the territory west of the Alleghanies into French territory; the temporary liberation of the Colonies and their eventual absorption into a New France. For liberty, right and jus-

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tice they did not care one centime, but they used these as shibboleths, wherewith to curry popular favor both at home and in other European countries.

Spain, then much stronger than in the next century, was an important factor and might under altered circumstances hold the balance of power. Holland had still a considerable Navy, a small but well disciplined Army and was therefore another factor of importance in the game of world politics. How shrewdly Franklin conducted his mission is known and loved by every American heart. In masterly manner, he obtained heavy annual loans from the French Treasury, a gift of nine million livres; a guarantee upon a loan of ten million livres to be raised in Holland and the adoption of the Treaty of February 6, 1778, whereby the Armies and Navies of France were moved forward to assist the cause of independence. But for this, the Revolution would have failed and the Colonies been rendered desolate for fifty years.

In 1783, the Treaty of Peace was adopted between England and the colonies and the latter became a new face at the Council table of the nations. In the negotiation of this instrument, Franklin was superbly seconded by Adams and Jay and more especially the latter. It was Jay, who first established satisfactorily the double game which was being played by Vergennes in Paris and Luzerne, the French Minister, at Philadelphia.

Franklin added one more laurel to his crown by negotiating a treaty between the Prussian Kingdom in which was an article favoring the abolition of privateering.

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This was the first attempt in history made toward the diminution of the horrors of war and the development of morality in the relations between nations.

September, 1785, saw his work finished abroad and him returning to America. Scarcely more than arrived he was chosen Governor of the State of Pennsylvania, and was re-elected in 1786 and 1787. During the last named year he was a delegate to the convention which framed the present Constitution. His final public act was in 1790, when as President of an Anti-Slavery Society, he sent a memorial to Congress entreating for the abolition of the slave trade and the emancipation of the slaves. The slave owners were indignant and their spokesman, General James Jackson of Georgia, made a fiery speech in which he attempted to demonstrate the sanctity of the institution by texts from the Scripture.

Franklin promptly wrote an answer which was published in the *National Gazette* and was laughed at by the people for many years. It was a parody on Jackson's address even more solemn, stilted and hypocritical put into the mouth of a councilor of the Divan of Algiers and fortified by numerous texts from the Koran. He wrote it within four weeks of his death.

Where great energy is united to perfect health joyousness is the invariable result. The dyspeptic and anæmic are crabbed and irritable while the great athlete is kindness incarnate. Franklin's happy spirit was extraordinary. It became suave imperturbability in public life, wit and humor in literary work, fun and nonsense in conversa-

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tion and correspondence, and gentleness in the social and domestic relations. He is one of the few revolutionary characters who never seems to have lost his temper or to have expressed his wrath in vigorous profanity. His exceeding serenity is manifestly illustrated by the many portraits and descriptions of him which all indicate a happy countenance. In the popular mind, he was regarded as a placid Quaker on account of that sect being supposed to have no ill nature in its composition. Yet as a matter of fact he was not a Quaker, nor a sectarian of any sort. His views in this respect being about half way between those of a Deist and an Agnostic.

If he had any particular faith it was the religion of good humor. He instinctively saw the funny side of everything. When on one occasion he had arranged to kill a turkey by an electrical current, anticipating the present system of electrocution in New York, he was careless in handling the wires and received a shock which rendered him almost senseless, he summed it up by smiling and saying "I meant to kill a turkey and instead I nearly killed a goose."

He had a genius for personalities but turned them all against himself. He summed up his practice in this respect in the epigram "Thou canst not joke an enemy into a friend but thou mayst a friend into an enemy."

No man had a keener knowledge of the imperfections of humanity.

To the question of how to obtain a knowledge of a woman's faults and the genuineness of her virtues, Franklin answered,



**THE PRINTING-PRESS AT WHICH BENJAMIN FRANKLIN  
WORKED IN WATTS PRINTING-OFFICE, LONDON**

*Now in the Smithsonian Institute*

THE NEW YORK

## BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

"Commend her among her female acquaintance."

What could be more felicitous than his description of

"Glib tongues who can lie like ten epitaphs."

He pictured a grasping woman in a single sentence,

"Mary's mouth cost her nothing for she never opens it but at others' expense."

There is a world of quiet wit in the declaration,

"He that is of opinion money will do everything may well be suspected of doing everything for money."

The modern epigram of the selfmade man who worshipped his creator is but a variant of Franklin's,

"Who falls in love with himself has no rivals."

Lewis Carroll must have had Poor Richard in his mind's eye when he referred to the onion for it was the latter that said,

"Onions can make e'en heirs and widows weep."

Mark Twain's inimitable exaggeration was forestalled by Franklin in his story of two sailors, who were hauling out a cable. One of them said "it is a long heavy cable; I wish we could see the end of it." "Damn me," said the other, "if I believe it has any end. Somebody has cut it off."

In his domestic and social relations, he was affectionate and sunny. To his wife, who intellectually was his inferior, but who was a faithful and untiring helpmate, he was warmly devoted. His feeling toward her is well shown in two letters which have been preserved:

"You may think perhaps that I can find many amusements here (England) to pass the time agreeably. It is

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true the regard and friendship I meet with from persons of worth and the conversation of ingenious men give me no small pleasure; but at this time of life domestic comforts afford the most solid satisfaction, and my uneasiness at being absent from my family, and longing desire to be with them, make me often sigh in the midst of cheerful company."

"MY DEAR LOVE: I hoped to have been on the sea in my return by this time; but find I must stay a few weeks longer, perhaps for the summer ships. Thanks to God I continue well and hearty; and I hope to find you so, when I have the happiness once more of seeing you."

His social genius was extraordinary. In addition to his multifarious talents was his singular power of adaptability. With diplomats he was a Talleyrand, with scientists a Lavoisier, among literary people his conversation was usually the gem of every assemblage. With women he was gallant, courteous, witty and interesting. He could even adapt himself to sailors, peasants, children and slaves. but no matter how serious the situation or even inappropriate the time and place his humor bubbled up forever. To a clergyman, who complained of non-attendance at his church Franklin suggested "that if he would serve liquid refreshments after prayers the church would be crowded." When told that in Congress he and his friends "must hang together," he answered quickly "or else be hanged separately." When asked what was the most serious duty of a Congressman, he answered that it was "to keep silent. He that speaks much is much mistaken."



## BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

About the best specimen of his humorous fancy was the epitaph, he composed for his own tombstone:

“THE BODY  
OF  
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,  
PRINTER,  
(LIKE THE COVER OF AN OLD BOOK  
ITS CONTENTS TORN OUT,  
AND STRIPPED OF ITS LETTERING AND GILDING),  
LIES HERE, FOOD FOR WORMS;  
YET THE WORK ITSELF SHALL NOT BE LOST,  
FOR IT WILL (AS HE BELIEVED) APPEAR ONCE MORE  
IN A NEW  
AND MORE BEAUTIFUL EDITION,  
CORRECTED AND AMENDED  
BY  
THE AUTHOR.”

Sometimes his wit rose up into high philosophy. General Sherman's declaration that “war is hell” may have been more forcible but was not so pregnant as Franklin's statement that, “there never was a good war nor a bad peace.”

He summed up scientific utilitarianism in the simple question,

“What signifies philosophy that does not apply to some use?”

To Benjamin Franklin the nation owes an eternal debt of gratitude. He was a patriot, who gave himself to public

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service in the darkest hours of the commonwealth and who strove valiantly and untiringly, not in the battlefield where fame and glory offer their enchanting mirage, but in the council chamber and the cabinet. He seems to have had no ambition but to use his own phrase "to be of some use." Despite his commanding talents, he was modest, and neither sought praise nor reward nor looked down upon others less gifted than himself. He was a typical democrat and measured men by their personalities and not by the accidents of birth, title, rank, office or wealth. Essentially a lover of his fellow man, he never allowed difference to become rancor or opposition to become enmity. He was on friendly terms with every sect and upon his recommendation his friend, Rev. John Carroll, was appointed the first Roman Catholic Bishop of America.

He perceived the instinctive craving of man for religion and while he had no particular faith himself, he did not employ analogy to shake the faith of others. On the contrary he opposed Thomas Paine's "Age of Reason" upon the ground that the book would do no good in destroying the faith of those, whose conduct was based upon that faith, and would doubtless do harm to others whose evil tendencies were controlled by their religious beliefs alone.

His was the first name in American literature and the excellence of his workmanship impressed itself upon every nation in Europe. To him, American education owes its first impetus toward scientific research. His own investigations exerted considerable influence, while even more

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powerful was the result of his friendship with the great leaders of advanced thought in England and France.

Most of the great men of his time were characterized by or possessed an intangible suggestion of the place to which they belong. Unconsciously we refer to Jefferson as of Virginia, Hamilton as of New York and Adams as of Massachusetts, but Franklin brings up, not a colony nor a State, but an entire Continent. He was the great American!

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### III

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## THOMAS JEFFERSON

*Born, April 2, 1743; Died, July 4, 1826.*

**O**F all the great men of the Revolution, Thomas Jefferson was the best incarnation of the American character. Its virtues and defects, its energy and iconoclasm, its egotism and common sense, its reckless waste of energy and its matchless power of achievement found in him a perfect exemplification. Born in 1743, he inherited more than ordinary sterling virtues from both lines of descent. His father, Peter Jefferson, possessed a herculean physique, a love of literature, a talent for mathematics, agriculture and public affairs. His mother, Jane Randolph, was a good type of the women of her period, being beautiful, well-bred, accomplished, a skilful housewife and careful business manager.

The characteristics of both parents appeared in the son, making him exceptionally well rounded, a virtue which has both advantages and disadvantages. His father was wealthy and the broad estate of Shadwell in Albemarle County, Virginia, where he first saw the light, gave him ample opportunity for the full development of his powers, physical and mental. Educated at William and Mary College, he made his mark there for tireless industry, high scholarship and unusual versatility. Like Washington, he was a natural athlete and from childhood took a deep

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delight in open air exercise. When a mere boy he was skillful in woodcraft and at the age of twelve could swim a river upon his horse as well as an expert cavalryman. In walking, running and jumping, climbing, swimming and diving, in dancing and open-air sports he was a leader among the young men of his neighborhood. While Washington bears the reputation of having been the great athlete of the Revolutionary leaders, it may be questioned if in an all-round contest he would not have been found inferior to the great Republican. To this superb physical development may be ascribed Jefferson's extraordinary power of work. No man ever led a more strenuous life and none could have performed what he achieved without a body whose muscles and nerves were of the highest excellence.

Frequently in mature life he would write fourteen and even sixteen hours a day and at the end of his labor would not complain of fatigue, but on the contrary be ready to engage in a discussion upon science, art, the classics, politics or geology.

He became a lawyer when twenty-four years of age and soon distinguished himself as practitioner and advocate. Up to this time the personality of the man had not been disclosed. Of a hundred young Virginians he was simply a trifle stronger and a little better informed than the rest. Yet shrewd observers had noticed qualities which did not appear upon the surface. The neighbors declared "Thomas Jefferson is more inquisitive than a New Englander." The slaves of Albemarle County said "Mr.

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Tom Jefferson knows more than anybody in the world," and a few intimate friends insisted that beneath his reticence was a power of thought and expression so marked as to astonish them even when applied to the most trivial topics. Like wealthy young men of his time, he entered public life on coming of age, being then appointed vestryman and Justice of the Peace.

When twenty-six years of age, he was elected to the House of Burgesses. His first step was in keeping with his character and might be imitated by every public man to-day. It was a resolution which he made "never to engage while in public office in any kind of enterprise for the improvement of my fortune."

The session of the legislature was a brief one, lasting five days, but in this short period Jefferson showed his opinions in a way which left no doubt in the minds of the public as to his independence, love of liberty and fearless opposition to wrongful precedent and tradition. He spoke and voted in favor of the four resolutions, respecting taxation, representation and colonial co-operation, which were denounced by the ultra-royalists as treason. In addition to this he made a strong argument favoring the repeal of the colonial statute which obliged an owner freeing his slaves to send them out of the colony. The two actions taken together throw a clear light upon his character. In each, he was a radical of radicals. In the former, he incurred the enmity of the Crown, but gained the amity of the Colonists; in the latter, he alienated the affections of the slave-owning caste which was his own



**THOMAS JEFFERSON**

*From the original painting by Gilbert Stuart in Bowdoin  
College, Brunswick, Me.*





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and gained the good will of an insignificant few. The former was good politics, the latter was the worst possible as a matter of mere expediency. The young man struck at tyranny from without and also from within.

Even at that time he realized, though it may have been in but a vague way, that there might be as much tyranny under the form or in the name of liberty as under the iron rule of a monarchy.

The next six years were devoted to the hardest study and work. It may be that the man had some premonition of what the Future held in store for him and prepared himself accordingly. Beside attending to his vast farm and law practice, he set aside so many hours a day for study, making, it would seem, special topics of parliamentary law, statutory reform, military science, invention and discovery as applied to daily life, national and international jurisprudence, literature and composition. So symmetric mentally in other respects, he was strangely deficient in two qualities, the poetic and humorous. He wrote excellent verse but as he smilingly admitted, "It was entirely free from the Divine Afflatus," while to wit and fun, he appears to have been almost insensible. This poetic deficiency extended into the realm of music. Upon the violin he played with rare mechanical exactness but without any soul whatever. To this fact was due the witticism, "that Patrick Henry was the only thing which prevented Thomas Jefferson from being the worst fiddler in the world."

In this period rumblings of the coming war were heard

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and the minds of the Virginians were turned almost exclusively to political discussion. While Jefferson did not neglect his other duties to bestow much time upon public affairs, he preserved no discreet silence as to his own convictions. In every question, he was against the Crown and for the colonies.

In March, 1775, he was sent to Richmond as a delegate to the convention which met in that city to consider what action the colonies should take. While the tone of the proceedings was conventional it was almost radical in its sentiments toward liberty and independence. Among other things done was the appointment of a committee including Washington, Jefferson, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee and Benjamin Harrison which should place the people of Virginia upon a military footing. The last act of the Convention was to appoint Jefferson an alternate to the Continental Congress to fill any vacancy that might occur in the delegation. The forethought was wise as a vacancy occurred not long after and Jefferson immediately took his seat in the body at Philadelphia on June 21st, 1775.

His industry and study now made him invaluable to the other colonial leaders. Though a poor speaker on the floor of the House he was an unrivalled committeeman. Every reference to him at that time praises his ability in high terms and pays tribute as well to his fascinating conversation in the lobby and the salon. So admirable was his record that upon his return to Virginia, he was re-elected a delegate, being the third of the seven chosen to represent the colony. His fame had gone abroad so

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that he and Washington were now the two recognized leaders of Virginia.

On June 10, 1776, he was made chairman of the committee of five which drafted the Declaration of Independence, his colleagues being four men of the same tremendous personality as himself, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, John Adams, and Robert R. Livingston. There was much business on hand and after the committee had outlined their opinions, they requested their chairman to compose the resolution to be offered which he did, it is said, in the lodgings he occupied. The proposed declaration occasioned hot comment and debate. The discussion consumed three days, July 2, 3 and 4, 1776. The original document was revised and amended, but in the main left as Jefferson penned it. It was finally passed, the vote being accelerated according to Jefferson by the extreme heat of the afternoon and the merciless onslaught of a cloud of flies which invaded Assembly Hall. Shortly afterwards, he was appointed upon the committee to select a motto for the new Republic and to him probably more than any other member is due the choice of what Congress adopted, "E Pluribus Unum."

That his conduct in Congress had pleased his constituency was evidenced by their electing him in his absence a member of the Virginia legislature. To the surprise of many, he resigned his delegateship and returned to Virginia to enter upon the duties of his new office. The action was worthy of the man. The Mother of Presidents was at that time more tied and bound by red tape and

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ancient laws than any other colony. Jefferson had determined to reform its legal, political and ecclesiastical conditions and took advantage of the opportunity which was presented to him. In the three years' fight which followed, he played a heroic part, subordinating all interests that were opposed to his conceptions of progress and of right. Among the changes for which he struggled and which he carried through in this period or which were finished in the following six years were the abolition of entail, primogeniture, tithes, ecclesiastical jurisdictions, the old common-law system of courts and procedure, the status of citizenship and the so-called Blue Laws as to minor offenses. In these matters, he was more than an iconoclast, he was also a preserver. Up to his time no care had been bestowed upon the matter of statutes and precedents and no work contained the laws of the colony. Jefferson from the time he began study for the bar up to his election had devoted much time to compiling the ancient records and to him was due their preservation from oblivion. This knowledge made him more than a match for conservative legislators who opposed his views. When a man who was arguing against a law was compelled to appeal to his opponent for the text which he was defending, it made a situation whose very incongruity refuted the best argument which could be made.

Some of these ancient statutes were veritable curiosities of feudal antiquity. Thus one set of laws were founded upon the Biblical doctrine of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth authorizing and directing the Sheriff

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to inflict these hideous punishments when ever so commanded by the Court. Some of the reforms antagonized the ultra-clerical element of the Colony. He abolished primogeniture and so aroused the enmity of the landed aristocracy. He led a magnificent and successful fight against ecclesiastical oppression and established absolute religious freedom in the Commonwealth. While much credit is due to his colleagues, more especially Francis Lightfoot Lee, George Wythe, and George Mason, upon himself devolved the brunt of the battle.

In 1779, he was elected Governor of the State, a position which made the next two years the busiest and most exciting of his life. Besides performing his gubernatorial duties, he was obliged as Commander-in-Chief of the Colony to keep up both the men and the resources of the Virginia regiments in the Continental army. The State was poor and oftentimes he was compelled to draw upon his own private fortune. In addition, General Washington and Congress drew upon him for supplies for General Gates, then conducting a campaign in the South. He was obliged to assist in a defensive campaign against the Indians on the West, and had to care for and guard the British and Hessian prisoners of war, who were consigned to him or to Virginia by their captors. This was enough to break down any governor, but more was to follow. A British expedition under the command of Benedict Arnold invaded Virginia and captured Richmond, but Jefferson's terrific energy had prepared for even this contingency. The militia came trooping in from every quarter, and Ar-

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nold, after holding the city twenty-three hours, beat a hasty retreat to his vessels and sailed down the James, escaping capture only by a strong breeze which sprung up and enabled him to get beyond the range of the Virginia marksmen. Four times in 1781 the Virginia government had to run away from the capital upon the approach of British armies.

He was re-elected governor in 1780, but declined a third term. In 1781 he was sent back to Congress. The honor was repeated two years afterward, when he rendered invaluable services to the nation as chairman of the Committee on Currency. The primary form of the present monetary system was devised by Gouverneur Morris of New York, but was cumbrous in some of its details. Jefferson's keen common sense saw the faults of the new plan, struck them out and offered to the representatives of the nation the decimal system of mills, cents, dimes, dollars and eagles which has ever since been employed by the country. It is a great pity that his views in these matters could not have been adopted in whole rather than in part. He urged with great eloquence the application of the decimal method to weights and measures, but was too far ahead of his time. His ideas were voted down only to come up again in the first decade of the Twentieth Century.

In 1784 he was a Joint Envoy to France, where he joined Benjamin Franklin and John Adams. The following year he was made sole Minister Plenipotentiary to that kingdom. In the discharge of his diplomatic duties, he

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introduced what was then a novel departure. From the legation he sent circular communications to the American colleges respecting the new inventions, discoveries, processes and books of Europe, and to various farms and friends, he sent seeds, roots, and nuts for agricultural experiment and trial at home. For the planters of South Carolina, he procured with the greatest difficulty a large amount of Italian rice, which was then considered the best in the world. The Italian government prohibited its exportation, but Jefferson succeeded after many fruitless attempts in getting a quantity across the frontier and forwarding it to the United States. From this seed came the famous South Carolina staple which has been a standard ever since.

In September, 1789, he was appointed Secretary of State, and the following March entered upon the duties of his office. His colleagues were Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, Henry Knox, Secretary of War, and Edmund Randolph, Attorney General.

It was here that the differences began which were to develop into the great political parties of the United States. Jefferson had lived four years in France and had seen the evils and monstrosities of monarchical government. He had gone down among the common people, studied them as critically as he had studied books in his younger life and had come to understand their nature. These four years had made him an unchangeable foe to all monarchical government and a deep lover of the common people. Hamilton on the other hand had from the

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time of his coming to America, when a mere boy, been the associate of the best classes in American society. He was what was called an aristocrat, who believed in a strong if not a monarchical government, and had a distrust of popular suffrage. Knox, a man cast in a military mold shared Hamilton's sentiments, so that the Cabinet was hopelessly divided in its opinions respecting the very cornerstone of American institutions. Their differences increased so rapidly, that each desired to resign office ere a few months had passed, and only the wonderful tact and suavity of Washington kept the Cabinet from going to pieces. In January, 1794, Jefferson resigned and went back to his farm at Monticello. He was embittered with public life and declared that nothing would tempt him to accept office. But without knowing it, the knowledge of his opinions had gone abroad and he had become an idol in the hearts of his fellow countrymen. In 1796, to his surprise, he was almost elected President, John Adams receiving seventy-one electoral votes, and he sixty-eight, which under the law made him Vice-President.

His incumbency was a happy chapter of his life. On account of his political opinions, he was left out of the President's councils, and was therefore able to give his time to study and to taking part in the proceedings of the Philosophical Society, then the only large learned organization in the New World. Here, he startled those who had merely known him as a lawyer and legislator by his marvelous memory, quick perceptions and universal culture. He spoke on every subject, and was a recognized



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authority in nearly every field of thought. By his work in these sessions, he won the admiration of a class which he might never otherwise have gained. No other man prominent in political life, excepting Franklin, had his tastes in this regard, so that his prestige in the Philosophical Society was altogether unique.

During this period he compiled his famous *Manual of Parliamentary Law and Practice*, which has been an authority ever since in countries which employ representative government. The Presidential election of 1800 was a peaceful revolution. The Federalist or Republican party went down to defeat, never to rise again, and the new Republican party became the governing force of the nation. Jefferson was elected President. His eight years in office, for he was re-elected at the expiration of his first term, constitute one of the great chapters in the history of the Republic. Its first feature was the adoption of an almost Spartan simplicity in the conduct of the executive.

For his guiding principle he adopted the rule of refusing to receive any attention or compliment that would not have been paid to him as a private citizen. He especially avoided anything that savored of monarchy or class distinction. Perhaps he went too far. He certainly obtained for this country a bad name for official manners and etiquette, and started hundreds of funny stories told at the expense of American statesmen, some of which are still related abroad to this very day. Yet even if he did, it was a blessing in disguise. It made pageantry, useless form and ceremony ridiculous in the eyes of the people and

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established a precedent which has been kept up to the present time. Yet one can well wish that he had not received the proud ambassadors of Europe with shabby clothes and run-down slippers, and that he had not wandered around his residence and grounds attired in the comfortable but not altogether elegant style of a Virginia planter walking through his fields.

The second feature was the suppression of the Barbary pirates in the Mediterranean by Decatur and the other heroes of his squadron. Third and greatest of all was the Louisiana Purchase. The vastness of this transaction was surpassed only by his plans in 1807, which were never however carried into execution. At that time he proposed a scheme for removing the Spanish flag from the Western world by annexing Florida, Mexico and Cuba. He said that Spain's existence in the New World was an anachronism, and that her ensign would by the very nature of things be taken down ere many years had rolled by. His opinion was prophetic, and was confirmed long afterwards by the independence of Mexico and the Spanish-American war of 1898.

He retired from office in 1809, at sixty-six years of age. The latter part of his life was as active as any other. Its main work was the establishment of the public school system in his state, and the foundation of the University of Virginia. Working with a zeal which nothing could discourage, he achieved some results, but nothing in comparison with his ideals. Though a Virginian, and loved by the Virginians, he really belonged to the present cen-



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tury and not to the beginning of the Nineteenth. The public school system, which he intended should surpass those of the New England and Middle States, was started upon a weak basis, and never received the support which it deserved and which Jefferson declared to be indispensable for universal education. The noble university of his dreams found a poor realization in an institution to which the legislature doled out \$15,000 a year.

In private life, Jefferson was singularly sweet, kindly and generous. Though born to great wealth, he died almost in destitution through the sacrifices he made for the nation and through his life-long altruism. Though a careful business man, he never allowed commercialism to influence his heart. To those who needed, he gave freely, even when it meant deprivation to himself. Belonging to an age where conviviality was universal and the sexual code not observed with excessive zeal, he was temperate in his drinking and remarkably good morally. Moral standards have changed, and it would be unfair to measure the men of the Eighteenth century by the canons of the Twentieth. Estimated by the rules of his own time he towered above the community. To the very end, he preserved a strong love for children, and took or made believe take an interest in all that concerned them. His letters and reported conversations with his children and grandchildren, and with the little folks of his neighborhood wherever he lived, show him to have had a heart as warm and caressing as that of a mother.

He had high ideals of womanhood, and was a staunch

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advocate of girls' training, intellectual and physical as well as moral and social. Every woman he claimed should walk and dance systematically every day in order to develop health, strength and vigor as well as grace and beauty. She should study and master not only English, but French and classic literatures, in order to be in touch with the great world around her. In his love making Thomas Jefferson was a singular combination of shyness and egotism. He indulged in sentiment, but it was not the sentiment of morbidity so much as of fun, or deliberate nonsense. To one young lady who was quite pretty, and who seemed to look upon him with eyes of favor he told his love, but added, "I cannot engage myself because it will interfere with my studies and my plans for a trip to Europe, but it might be well for you to wait, because when I get back from abroad I will resume the suit openly."

He burned incense upon the altars of at least eight Virginia belles before he met his fate. This was Mrs. Martha Wayles Skelton, daughter of a wealthy lawyer, and a noted belle and musician. His courtship seems to have been a long one, lasting at least one year and a half and probably two years. The youthful widow undoubtedly liked him from the first, but with a woman's instinct played with him until she got tired. She was a brilliant conversationalist and thoroughly informed upon current events. She met him squarely upon the intellectual plane, and in addition their musical tastes were very similar. Much of their courtship found expression in duetts, she playing upon the spinet and he upon the fiddle which was so heartily detested

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by his friends. Some of his rivals declared that he carried his fiddle to the widow's house to protect him from all competition in love, as no ordinary man could stand his execrable playing for more than a half hour. According to tradition the pretty widow was so zealous a musician that whenever Jefferson played out of tune, she would rise from the spinet and box his ears. This so pleased the admiring young lawyer that after the first punishment he flatted with great regularity thereafter in order to receive chastisement anew. Beneath his composure there was much nervousness, as was evidenced by the fact that in writing the marriage license bond he described his future wife as a spinster!

Their married life proved very happy, but was brief in duration, lasting but ten years. There were six children, all girls, of whom Martha the first and Mary the fourth survived infancy.

For an epitaph on his wife's tomb, he wrote the following:

TO THE MEMORY OF MARTHA JEFFERSON

DAUGHTER OF JOHN WAYLES

Born October 19th, 1748 O. S.;

*Intermarried with Thomas Jefferson January 1st, 1772;*

*Torn from him by Death September 6th, 1782:*

If in the melancholy shades below

The flames of friends and lovers cease to glow

Yet mine shall sacred last; mine undecayed

Burn on through death and animate my shade."

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Jefferson died July 4, 1826, at almost the same hour as his friend and colleague John Adams, and just fifty years after the Declaration of Independence.

Congress has erected a shaft over his grave at Monticello. A better and grander monument is the University of Virginia. But the greatest of his monuments, the one which will last when the shaft has crumbled away and the university has given place to other institutions of learning, is the Louisiana Purchase, already the seat of a mighty people and destined to be a commonwealth whose power and splendor will go down through centuries to come.



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## IV

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### ALEXANDER HAMILTON

*Born, January 11, 1757; Died, July 12, 1804.*

A LONG line of Scotch soldiers of noble blood blended with one of fearless Huguenot zealots in the Island of Nevis of the West Indies to form Alexander Hamilton. In 1757, these islands offered no field for either martial genius or religious enthusiasm. The eyes of the babe opened upon a rich, tropical landscape rather than upon camp and court, and about his cradle were none of the fierce bickerings which had marked the religious conditions of France in former years.

So far as environment was concerned, the place tended to develop bucolic ease rather than ambition or energy. In this child's case, heredity was stronger than environment. The indomitable will of the Scotchman and the precocious talent of the Frenchman expressed themselves in his growth from the very first. His family was poor, his father being an unsuccessful business man, and the educational facilities of the place were very limited. Yet the boy seems to have taken advantage of every opportunity and to have acquired a learning by the time he was twelve years old which made him the mental equal of many grown men.

Letters written when he was thirteen, have been preserved, which in style and diction might have been composed by sober college professors. He had of course the

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rare advantage of well bred parents which is an education in itself. To them, rather than to any school was undoubtedly due his power of expression in both English and French. From a Jewess, who kept a small school, he obtained some knowledge of Hebrew, enough at least to make him a nine days' wonder to the community. This fact in itself amounts to but little. A knowledge of Hebrew in those days was confined almost exclusively to members of the Jewish race. That he knew enough of the language to excite comment evidences a linguistic talent more than ordinary.

At twelve, adversity compelled him to earn his own livelihood. He became the clerk in the counting house of Nicholas Cruger, a wealthy merchant doing business in New York and St. Croix in the West Indies, who belonged to a distinguished New York Colonial family. The merchant and the senior clerks took a friendly interest in their new employé.

At this time, and for several years afterwards, he must have been an odd specimen of boyhood. Small, slender and rather weakly in appearance, he was so handsome and yet so old-fashioned as to attract notice. Both his conversation and letters were a trifle pedantic, and only when he was aroused did his impetuosity and strong mental power become manifest. Some of his letters written at this period have been preserved and throw a curious light upon his unfolding character. They show him to have been ambitious, upright, patient, quick to learn and ever eager for some opportunity through which he might get

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ahead in the race of life. At one time he seems to have looked forward to becoming a great merchant and making a fortune; at another his Scotch ancestry cropped out and he pictured himself as carving a way to fame and fortune with the sword; while on still another occasion, he gave utterance to a vague desire to win laurels in the realm of statesmanship. The two latter aims were prophetic. The boy was to make himself one of the immortals in both war and statecraft, but was never to obtain the magical touch of Midas.

He was a faithful clerk, and by the time he was fourteen years old took charge of the business in the absence of his superiors. Commercial life in the tropics was very quiet in the Eighteenth century. At times there would be a rush of business, and then again for days there would be little or nothing to do. Most men take advantage of this alternation for purposes of diversion, but young Hamilton apparently utilized it for study, and literary work. During this time, he read carefully in English, French and classical works, and now and then attempted original composition.

By degrees these unusual habits were brought to the notice of influential citizens and when he was fifteen, some friends and relatives raised a small fund and sent him to the American colonies, where they hoped the boy would be able to better himself. He came to Boston in October, 1772, and traveled thence to New York, where he was entertained by eminent citizens to whom he had brought letters of introduction from the Rev. Dr. Hugh Knox.

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Through the good offices of his new found friends, he was enabled to enter the famous school of Francis Barber at Elizabeth, N. J., and to have a home at "Liberty Hall," the residence of William Livingston, the fighting Governor of New Jersey during the Revolution. The latter fact must have exercised a profound influence upon his after life. Livingston himself was a man of commanding personality and his hospitable home was the headquarters of the brightest intellects of New York and New Jersey. Despite his youth, the boy was soon on good terms with his seniors, all of whom seem to have taken a deep fancy to him. In his studies he worked with tireless energy so that in two years he was ready for college. He intended to matriculate at Princeton, but on account of some arbitrary features of its curriculum, he entered King's College, now Columbia University, in the winter of 1774. In his class were James de Peyster and Edward C. Moncrieff. In the classes above him were Samuel Auchmuty, who became a general in the British army, Richard Auchmuty afterwards a British surgeon, Samuel Bayard, John William Livingston and Jacobus Remsen.

Of the forty odd students that were then enrolled in Columbia, more than one-half were to play parts in the Revolution. Before the war broke out college feeling was as much Tory as Revolutionary, but with the beginning of hostilities a majority of the students took sides with the people against the Crown.

Hamilton was not one of those who changed. From the very first he espoused the cause of liberty, and was out-

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spoken in his sentiments. Yet he was no demagogue. When in May, 1775, a mob broke into the campus intending to harm if not to kill the Rev. Myles Cooper, President of the College, Hamilton was the first to spring upon the college steps and make a spirited protest against the contemplated outrage. Aided by Robert Troup, who had been graduated the year before, he held the mob back by his eloquence, wit and audacity, until the worthy president had escaped from a rear window, attired in the spectral garments of the night.

In April, 1776, the College was transformed into military quarters by the Committee of Safety, and Hamilton and his sixteen colleagues were compelled to relinquish their studies.

His political career had begun before this time. In July, 1774, at a mass meeting held in "The Fields" whose object was to protest against the attitude of the Tory majority in the Assembly, Hamilton made his maiden speech. He was not upon the programme of the day, but was so interested in the affairs of the time, that when there came a pause in the speaking he stepped forward and addressed the great throng in front of him. The sound of his own voice made him nervous at first, but the discomposure wore away, and for twenty-five minutes he held his hearers spellbound. He spoke clearly, logically, and above all with a force and earnestness which commanded attention and respect. When he closed, he was cheered to the echo. In the fall of that year Hamilton wrote two tracts in reply to Tory publications which had attacked Con-

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gress and its measures. Tracts were a favorite weapon of controversy in those days and Hamilton's work was so clever as to win the applause of all the Colonial leaders of the city. What increased his reputation was the anonymity of the publications. For several weeks, people were guessing as to the authorship, and ascribing this to various popular leaders. The disclosure that they were written by a heretofore unknown author, and that this author was but seventeen years of age, made the young man the cynosure of all eyes.

In 1775-1776, Hamilton devoted all his leisure time to revolutionary work. He saw the power of the press even in those days, when four pages were the limit of a publication, and contributed editorials, essays and letters of admirable quality. He spoke at many public meetings, took up the study of military science, and foreseeing that war was inevitable, he joined a company commanded by Major Fleming. His hard work brought fruit, sooner if possible, than he expected.

In the spring of 1776, the New York Convention decreed the establishment of an artillery company. Among the applicants for the command was Hamilton. His popularity and literary skill made him the favorite choice of the appointing power, but his competitors declared that he did not possess sufficient knowledge for the position. An examination was held and Hamilton, owing to his studies and his work under Major Fleming passed successfully. He recruited the company to its full complement, and in equipping it he spent all the money he had in the world,

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even a small remittance which he had just received from Nevis. Many of the volunteer officers of that time treated war very much as if it were a parade, but Hamilton fell into no such error. He drilled his men early and late, and would have been voted a martinet within a fortnight but for his unfailing good humor, high spirits and charming courtesy. In three weeks his company showed the result of continuous drilling. Shortly afterwards, when General Greene arrived to inspect the troops, he was so impressed with the soldierly qualities of the command, that he complimented Hamilton and introduced him to George Washington, with a special recommendation. Thus began the friendship between the two men which was to exert so powerful an influence upon the young collegian's future. The campaign opened, and Hamilton first smelled powder at the Battle of Long Island. Here he covered the American retreat in so able a manner as to win praises from his seniors. At White Plains he again won laurels, and aroused Washington's admiration by offering to lead a storming party and recapture Fort Washington.

Participating in the Trenton and Princeton campaign he showed such gallantry, that in March, 1777, when little more than twenty years old, he was an aide-de-camp with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel.

He served until February, 1781, when he resigned. Retaining his commission, he again entered the field and took part in the Battle of Yorktown on the 14th of October, 1781, carrying the British redoubts at the point of the bayonet at the head of a regiment of light infantry. Af-

## BUILDERS OF THE REPUBLIC

ter the surrender of Cornwallis, he resigned his commission. In 1798, however, when troubles with France were brewing, and a large army was authorized with Washington as General-in-Chief, Hamilton was appointed Inspector-General with the rank of Major-General, at Washington's request. Upon Hamilton devolved the task of organizing the army, which duty he performed with prudence and zeal. When Washington died in 1799, he was made commander. As the clouds of war passed from view, the army was disbanded and Hamilton closed his martial career.

Of equal importance with his record as a soldier in the Revolution was his management of Washington's correspondence. The two men made a remarkable combination. Washington was characterized by strong common sense, clearness of judgment and rare urbanity, Hamilton, by a brilliant imagination, a keen sense of the value of words and an insatiable love for work. Enough of the correspondence has been preserved to make us wonder how one man could have done so much. He took seemingly as great a care in answering the letter of a poor widow or an offended farmer as in communicating with the leaders in Congress. He aided Washington in drawing the latter's more important papers and more especially his proclamations. He certainly assisted in writing many addresses. He was in every sense Washington's right hand man. The four years in which he acted as aide-de-camp were an education of the highest type. Critics have noticed the steady improvement in Hamilton's correspondence during that period. His associates were the Generals and the



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ablest men of the army, and among his correspondents were nearly all the national leaders.

His mastery of French made him the idol of the officers under Lafayette and Rochambeau. The activity of the young man's intellect was extraordinary. When only twenty-three years of age, he wrote a letter to Robert Morris upon national finances, which might be added to the text books of modern financial science. Even at that early period, he evinced a general knowledge and a perception of the great principles underlying government and social organization, which were equal if not superior to those of the statesmen of the time.

In the dark days of the Revolution he never despaired, but looked forward with absolute confidence to the establishing of a new government and a new civilization upon this continent, and had already begun to formulate the best lines of growth for the unborn nation.

His greatest triumph occurred in 1780 when he wooed and won Elizabeth Schuyler, daughter of General Philip Schuyler.

The Schuylers were among the landed aristocracy of New York, and the general was one of the commanding figures of the epoch. The union was as happy as it was wise. The bride had received the best education which women could obtain in those years, and in addition to this had had the invaluable assistance of her parents, who were people of culture, in her studies and reading. The comments which have come down from that period describe her as having been second only to Theodosia Burr in in-

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tellectuality and attractiveness. The attachment between the two lasted to the end of his life, and found expression in some of the most beautiful love letters extant. The love making occurred at Morristown when that place was under martial law and many delightful stories are treasured by the family of how Hamilton went about from day to day in a happy daze. On one occasion, it is said, he walked into a stream not far from the main road, and on another he forgot the pass word and countersign which he had given out himself a few hours previously. The young lover was held up at midnight at the point of the bayonet by a sentry and compelled to wait until relieved by a small boy, the son of a dear friend to whom he had given the countersign earlier in the evening. Even then, to his disgust, the sentry required a few minutes in order to satisfy himself that this extraordinary mode of procedure was permissible under camp rules.

After the victory of Yorktown he took up the study of the law, and by working with characteristic energy, he managed to prepare himself so well that in the summer of 1782 he passed his examination and was admitted to the bar.

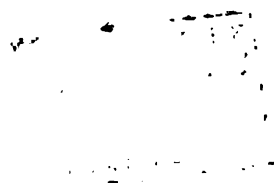
Hamilton was a jurist rather than a lawyer. He cared little for technicalities, and founded his entire mental system upon clear logic and accurate generalization. In practice, there were many members of the bar, who perhaps surpassed him in technical knowledge, but when it came to jurisprudence, matters of public policy, equity and the construction and interpretation of statutes, he was easily



ALEXANDER HAMILTON  
*From a miniature*



MRS. ALEXANDER HAMILTON  
*From a painting by Ralph Earle*  
1787



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one of the best lawyers in the Empire city. Had Hamilton devoted himself exclusively to the legal profession, he would have won fame as he did in statesmanship, but the country had greater need for his genius in other fields than at the Bar. His high talents caused offices to seek him. In June 1782, Robert Morris appointed him Receiver of Taxes for New York. In the same year the legislature elected him a member of Congress.

Between 1783 and 1787, Hamilton fought manfully against the bitter proscriptive tendencies which had been adopted against the Tories. At one time it looked as if the Colonies were about to start on a career similar to that which has disgraced the South American republics and made civilization so slow and incomplete in the Spanish-American lands. Against this tendency Hamilton fought with all his ability and fire. He incurred the enmity of the mob and of the demagogues whose position was that of the people they desired to lead. But he won the esteem of the thoughtful and upright, and by degrees he converted many who had opposed his opinions. This part of his career is too often overlooked in the splendor of his military achievements and his political triumphs, but after all it may be questioned if his work along these lines was not of as much benefit to the Republic as his services in the field and forum. In 1786, he took up the memorable struggle of good government against anarchy. The outlook at the time was pitiable in the extreme. The thirteen colonies had degenerated into thirteen bankrupt and discredited communities. The tendency toward liberty had

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been carried to the extreme. It had passed into home rule, thence into individualism, and even to separatism. In every State there were symptoms of rupture into still smaller political units, and at many points men had begun to arm themselves for their own protection against their neighbors. The tendency for the time being was toward a chaos similar to that which occurred after the collapse of the Roman Empire.

Hamilton attacked these conditions with almost irresistible fury. He devoted enough of his time to the law to supply the immediate wants of his family, and all the rest of his energy and thought he gave to his people.

He carried on a campaign that was local, state and national all at once. By correspondence, by powerful articles to the press, by political councils and by public orations, he began to stir up the country in a manner which soon made his name familiar to every household. It may be that the dislike and disgust which the anarchistic conditions had produced in his mind had as a matter of reaction made him too firm a believer in strong government. At any rate he soon became the national representative of government by the iron hand and utterly opposed to all the other schools, of whom General George Clinton and John Hancock were prominent exponents.

The form of government which he had in mind was an aristocratic or oligarchic republic rather than a democracy. Cavil as much as we may, he undoubtedly believed in a government based on property rights, or else confined to electors with property qualifications. He did not,

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it would seem, have faith in the common people, and judging from the experience of the country at that time there was no *raison d'être* for such faith.

Neither did he believe in State rights or State sovereignty. Under his plan the States would have borne the same relation to the Nation as the British shires to the Crown. It was in fact the British Constitution modified to suit American conditions, and colored and perhaps improved by Hamilton's own personal genius.

How far Hamilton believed in all his extreme theories may be questioned. He had a deep knowledge of human nature, and he realized that among the leaders of the people there were very few who had the courage of their convictions. By going to the extreme as he did he raised the conceptions of his fellow citizens and familiarized them with ideas, which they themselves would not have dared to formulate. With the vigor of a strong man, he seized the wild beast of anarchy by the throat and taught the other leaders of the land that the creature was dreadful only when left alone to pursue its own will.

He brought home to everybody the necessity of checks in popular government to prevent the injury occasioned by sudden waves of public feeling. While his system was not adopted; while it could not have been adopted,—many of the principles which it expressed were adopted and became the skeleton of the American Republic.

It was during this giant struggle that, he assisted by Madison and Jay, wrote the great series of essays known as *The Federalist*,—essays which from either a literary, legal

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or political aspect will always be regarded as among the masterpieces of the English tongue. They were the best chapter in the literature of the period. The newspapers of the day teemed with carefully written articles upon the same topics, and the printing presses turned out broadsides and pamphlets by hundreds. All of these are forgotten while *The Federalist* remains to-day undimmed and unimpaired.

In the New York campaign, which followed the Constitutional convention, Hamilton seems to have been everywhere and everybody. His work in this contest can never be exaggerated. The people of New York were opposed to the new Constitution, the politicians were against it, and the task of inducing the Empire State to adopt the new instrument seemed hopeless. The Constitutional convention at the beginning was nearly two-thirds against the proposed measure. Yet in face of all these odds, Hamilton led his forces to victory. He threw himself into the fight body, mind and soul and by a display of oratory, parliamentary skill, personal magnetism, tact and judgment he overcame opposition and had the Convention adopt the Constitution by a majority of three. While New York at that time was but the fourth State of the Union, nevertheless its refusal to ratify would have continued and probably increased the disorganization which prevailed throughout the land. Things would have gone from bad to worse, and the only hope would have been in a dictator with an army. The change from lawlessness to order,—from anarchy to good government was due



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more to Alexander Hamilton than to any other single man in the Thirteen Colonies.

Under the new Constitution, Washington was elected President of the United States, and in September of 1789, he appointed Hamilton Secretary of the Treasury. He was but thirty-two years old, his family was growing up, his law business had begun to flourish and every material inducement was for him to remain at the bar and decline the position, whose salary was only \$3,500 a year. Nevertheless his patriotism induced him to accept the offer promptly.

Hamilton's administration of the Treasury is one of the noblest chapters in American history. If his policy had any fault, that fault lay in its being ahead of the time. He recommended the decimal system and applied it to our money. He advocated a national bank, and in arguing its constitutionality, displayed almost as much ability as did Chief Justice Marshall afterwards. He urged a fiscal policy which should aid home manufactures, and in this way may be called the father of the protective tariff. He took the strongest ground for upholding the national credit and honor, and advocated many methods which after years have proven to be feasible and wise. When he resigned from the Treasury in 1795, the national credit was upon a firm basis, and in every direction prosperity was manifested. He resumed the practice of the law, and in a few months his practice was upon the old basis.

For twelve months he lived in a small but picturesque

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house in Pine street. Thence he moved to a more pretentious residence at No. 24 Broadway, where he lived until 1802, when he acquired a country seat some eight miles distant. This he named the "Grange" and here he was domiciled to the time of his death in 1804. Hamilton was very fond of home life, and every day indulged in his favorite pastime of driving to and from the city with his children. In the family archives are accounts of his accompanying his daughter Angelica when she sang and played upon the piano, of his story telling and his long walks and talks with his sons and daughters.

The letters of Mrs. Church, his wife's sister, both before and after his resignation from the Treasury, show graphically his limited income and his desire to spend more time with his wife and little ones.

In December 1794, he wrote the following:

"You say I am a politician and good for nothing. What will you say when you learn that after January next, I shall cease to be a politician at all. I have formally and definitely announced my intention to resign at that period and have ordered a house to be taken for me in New York.

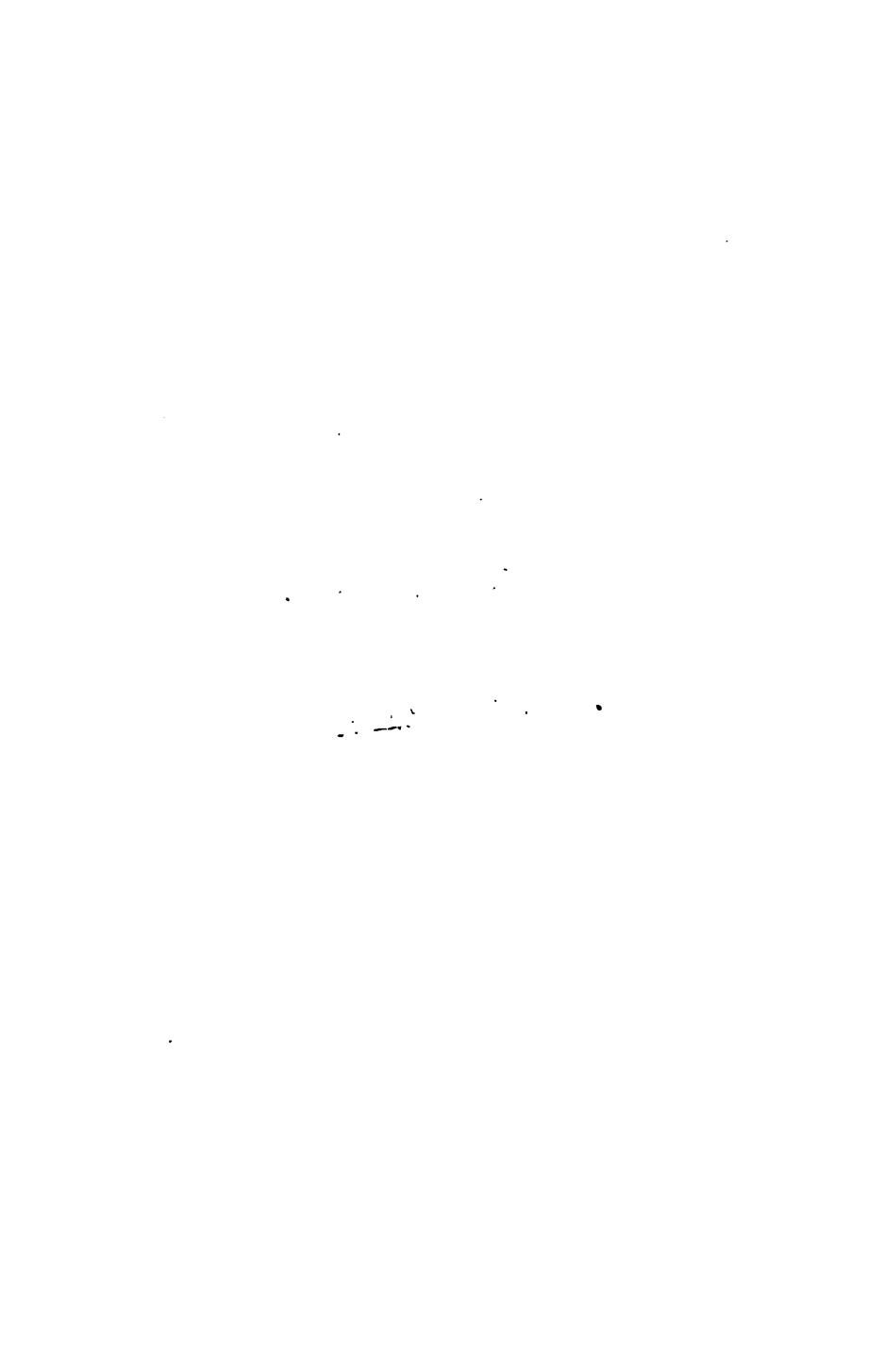
"My dear Eliza has been lately very ill. Thank God, she is now quite recovered except that she continues somewhat weak. My absence on a certain expedition was the cause. You will see notwithstanding your disparagement of me, I am still of consequence to her.

"Don't let Mr. Church be alarmed at my retreat! all is well with the public. Our insurrection is most happily terminated. Government has gained by it reputation and



“NEVIS”

*The Hamilton Home, Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y., now in the possession of Major Philip Schuyler,  
great-grandson of Alexander Hamilton*



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strength, and our finances are in a most flourishing condition. Having contributed to place those of the nation on a good footing, I go to take a little care of my own; which need my care not a little.

“ Love to Mr. Church. Betsy will add a line or two.”

He could not, however, keep aloof from the political arena. The acknowledged leader of the Federalist party, he also represented a great tendency in the American people. In politics, using the word in its lower sense, Hamilton does not belong to the first rank. His ideals were too high for him to descend to methods which were in vogue and respectable, but did not meet with his approval. In his choice of assistants, he was often careless and gave offense by neglecting to recognize ambitious and deserving men.

Quick to resent what he regarded as wrongful action, he made unnecessary attacks and created needless enmities. In this way, he as much as any other cause aided in increasing the dissensions which disaffected the Federalist party, and resulted in the election of Thomas Jefferson to the Presidential chair. To those, who have studied the career of the great Federalist, there can be no doubt but what after the Constitutional convention his views in regard to the common people underwent a slow change. As the years rolled by the spectre of popular sovereignty grew fainter than when he conjured it up in 1787. This change was the result of his own growth, and probably of the growth of the American people. There were still disquieting features in political life, but in the main the develop-

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ment of the nation was orderly, symmetrical and satisfactory. He perceived the increasing power of the intellect as a factor in the public arena and November 16, 1801, established the *New York Evening Post*, which immediately became the organ of his party and school of thought. The new journal was an advance upon all of its predecessors, and appealed to the educated classes. That it succeeded was convincing evidence that the community had obtained a position in which ability and training had become dominant factors in public life.

On the 12th of July, 1804, Hamilton fell in a duel with Aaron Burr. To the conscience of to-day, the act seems indefensible, but allowance should be made for the growth of moral conceptions during the Nineteenth century. The duel was an acknowledged means of settling disputes in those days, was employed in every civilized country and was regarded as what may be called a gentlemanly institution. It was not only countenanced by society, but so strongly upheld that the man who refused to accept a challenge was usually ostracized. Had Hamilton lived, he would have remained a commanding figure in the State and the Nation to his last breath. Yet it may be questioned, if he could ever have revived the dead Federalist party or brought a new political organization into being. His death, untimely as it may seem, was a magnificent climax to a life which had been consecrated to the highest ideals of intellectuality and patriotism. That he should fall at the hand of a crafty, political rival in the heat of a combat which had been created by his own genius for the

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amelioration of the American people is as tragic and yet as superb as that of the taking off of the great martyred president, Abraham Lincoln.

Of the Revolutionary leaders a majority are forgotten. Time gently lays them away in the veiled recesses of oblivion. Hamilton will always remain in the American pantheon, a brilliant soldier, a fine jurist, an eminent writer, a great statesman and an ideal patriot.

His epitaph was written by Prince Talleyrand, when he said after having visited Hamilton, "I have beheld one of the wonders of the world. I have seen a man, who has made the fortune of a Nation, laboring all night to support his family."

## JOHN JAY

*Born, December 12, 1745; Died, May 17, 1829.*

**H**OW curiously the threads of history run through its ever changing patterns! The broad toleration which marked the Commonwealth of the Netherlands was to exert a profound influence upon American history. It drew to Holland the Huguenots, who were persecuted in France; the descendants of these religious exiles accompanied their neighbors across the sea to establish New Amsterdam, and in the course of time became a prominent factor in American political life, both colonial and national. The very names of Bowdoin, Faneuil, Jay, Delancey and de Peyster are interesting illustrations of this chain of causation.

In the proud roll of the builders of the Republic, the great Huguenot name is that of John Jay. He came of an ancient Franco-Knickerbocker family which settled in New York in the latter part of the Seventeenth century. It possessed wealth, culture and beauty, and from the beginning of its career in the Western hemisphere it held high social position. Its members were successful in their marriages as they were in study, commerce, professional life, the army and public affairs.

The generation to which John Jay belonged was notable for its size, his parents having been blessed with no less



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than ten children. Although the Jays were of the landed aristocracy of the period, their instincts were with the Colonists and against the Crown. The sons all displayed more than usual talent, the brightest of them being John, the youngest. As a boy he was playful and addicted to pranks, so that although he made rapid progress in his studies at home his parents soon determined to send him to a boarding-school, where in addition to being educated, he would also be disciplined. He was accordingly despatched when just entering his teens, to a popular institution at New Rochelle, N. Y., kept by a Huguenot clergyman, the Rev. Dr. Steuppe (Stoupe) who was pastor of the French Church in that village. The management of this school was based upon models happily long since passed away. The clergyman was master, his wife associate-master, and one or more poor young men played the parts of assistants. The dominie, though a fine scholar, was eccentric, and his wife was as parsimonious as she was learned. The curriculum included French, Latin, deportment, music, literature, theology and prayers. The table was so poor that the boys were nearly starved, and their bedrooms were innocent of fire in the winter. This was done "to harden" them according to the ideas of that age. Philip Schuyler, who was a student with young Jay, says it was done to save the expense of firewood. A letter is preserved from the future Chief Justice John Jay to his mother, in which he describes "stopping up the broken window panes with billets of wood to keep the snow out of the beds."

## BUILDERS OF THE REPUBLIC

The training imparted was excellent, and when young Jay, at the age of fifteen, presented himself at Columbia, then King's College, he experienced no difficulty in matriculating; in fact he was better qualified for admission than most boys of his age.

The Huguenots, and especially the clergymen, made it a point to keep up the traditions of their race. They rather looked down upon their Dutch friends, who from their canons were gross and ignorant of fine breeding. They paid great attention to the social graces, training their young men and women in such details as bowing, entering and leaving a parlor, entertaining company in the salon, using poetry and anecdote in conversation and looking after their raiment.

The college was more like a club in those years than an institution of to-day. The number of students at King's varied between twenty and forty, and the relations among them were exceedingly cordial. Jay was both scholarly and popular. Here he made many friendships which were to last him for life. Among others who studied there at the time were Anthony and Leonard Lispenard, the Rev. Dr. Henry Van Dyke, Colonel Antill, Captain Grinnell, Captain de Peyster, Richard Harison, Chancellor Robert R. Livingston, Colonel Henry Rutgers and Judge John Watts. He was graduated in the class of 1764. Both presidents, Dr. Johnson and Dr. Cooper, commended the lad as being a fine student and a youth of rare promise. He was unostentatious, and our knowledge of his accom-

## JOHN JAY

plishments is derived from the accounts of friends and schoolmates. According to their statements he must have been an unusually talented collegian. He is said to have been a fluent speaker and writer in English, French and Latin, and to have had a knowledge of Dutch and Italian. This for a boy of nineteen is a record of exceptional merit. After graduating he was entered as a law student in the office of Benjamin Kissam and was admitted to the bar two years later. In the next ten years he led a busy professional and social life. He was the life of the large circle which centered at his parent's mansion, and a welcome guest in the leading parlors of the city of New York. Taking a deep interest in national and international affairs he soon came to be regarded as an authority in such matters by his clients, by other members of the bar, and by the large group of acquaintances which he had formed. When the agitation respecting governmental abuses by the British Crown became general, he was outspoken in his declarations against the offensive measures. He was a clear thinker and an eloquent talker, so that his opinions carried considerable weight. When the merchants of New York held a meeting and appointed a committee of fifty-one to enter into a correspondence with the other colonies on the subject of unjust legislation he was appointed a member of that body. To Jay are credited the recommendation of a Congress of deputies from the colonies in general and the suggestion that it meet in Philadelphia, which would be more convenient or central than any other city

## BUILDERS OF THE REPUBLIC

which might be named. This was the embryo of the Continental Congress which was to play so important a part in the next ten years.

The recommendation was adopted by the various colonies, and each sent a delegation. That from New York contained Jay, James Duane, William Floyd, Philip Livingston, Isaac Low, Henry Wisner, John Haring, John Alsop and Simon Boerum. Three of these were conspicuous above the rest, Jay, Livingston and Duane; while of the three, Jay and Livingston were worthy rivals for supremacy. The Congress met in Philadelphia on September 5, 1774. Its chief work was the drawing of an "Address to the People of Great Britain," one of the best bits of literary work in American history. While purporting to come from the committee of three, it was really drawn by Jay, to whom the others had resigned the duty.

He served in the Continental Congress from 1774 to 1777, and from 1778 to 1779 and on December, 1778, was elected president of the body. As political excitement increased so did his activity. He became a prominent member of the New York Committee of Observation, and was one of the special committee which recommended the election of a Provincial Congress for New York State and of a Committee of One Hundred with general powers for the public good.

Although belonging to the Continental Congress, he accepted a deputyship to the third and fourth Provincial Congresses in 1776, which had the important task of organizing a state government. To perform this duty it



JOHN JAY

*From the painting by Peale  
owned by the  
Maryland Historical Society*



MRS. JOHN JAY

*Copied from a medallion, owned by  
Mrs. Elizabeth Clarkson Jay,  
granddaughter*

1777

1778

## JOHN JAY

was necessary to be absent from the Continental Congress which passed and signed the Declaration of Independence. This is why his name does not appear upon the list of signers of that deathless document. At the second Continental Congress, in 1775, he drafted the "Address to the People of Canada and of Ireland." The same year he was appointed a member of the Secret Committee, whose purpose was to correspond with the friends of America in Great Britain, Ireland, and other parts of the world, but whose real object was to negotiate treaties with France, and if possible Spain.

Though he did not sign the Declaration of Independence, yet it was upon Jay's motion that the New York Provincial Congress unanimously approved the same at White Plains on July 7, 1776. Here also a secret committee was appointed by the Convention, of which Jay was made chairman and later a committee of which he was made a member, whose purpose was to attack and crush the conspiracies which the Tories had begun to form in New York and New Jersey. Jay was now carrying as much work as the twenty-four hours of the day would permit. He was a member of the Continental Congress and the Continental Secret Committee, not to speak of the committees of minor importance. He was also a member of the Provincial Congress, the Provincial Secret Committee, the Anti-Conspiracy Committee, the Committee of Observation and the Committee of One Hundred. The mere labor of attending these different organizations was great, as it involved the slow travel of that period as well

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as an amount of work which it is difficult to depict at the present time. There were no labor-saving conveniences, such as manifold, printing and reporting. While Jay made use of a secretary wherever possible, nearly all of his written work was done by his own pen. At this time he learned the knack of writing while driving along a rough road, an accomplishment which stood him in good stead during the years to come.

Events moved swiftly from this time on. Disaster upon disaster befell the Colonial cause, discouraging many who at the outset were enthusiastic for liberty. Jay remained undaunted. Not even the mistakes of the Continental Congress, and they were many, shook his conviction that right must eventually triumph. Before Washington's retreat from New York, Jay favored burning the city and repairing to the highlands. After the retreat, he issued an appeal to his fellow-countrymen, which for eloquence and indomitable courage was as inspiring as a bugle blast. It revived the colonial spirit, and Congress was so carried away by its force as to order it printed in both English and German and distributed in every town within its jurisdiction.

Meanwhile he aided in drafting the first State Constitution which was adopted by the Provincial Congress. This body expressed its appreciation of Jay's work by appointing him Chief Justice of the Empire State, a remarkably high honor for a young man, thirty-one years of age. It also made him a member of the Council of Safety which directed the military organization of the



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State subject to the National jurisdiction in many respects, but going beyond this in regard to local matters and interests.

In 1778, he was appointed envoy plenipotentiary to Spain, and later on, a Peace commissioner. In the Spanish capital he made almost as favorable an impression as Franklin had done in Paris. With rare adaptability he put himself at ease among the dignified grandees of the Spanish Court, and was soon a favorite of its ministry. In 1782, negotiations for peace were reaching a critical point, and at Franklin's request Jay left Madrid and joined his colleague in Paris. It was well for the colonies that the Peace Commission contained these two men in addition to its third member, John Adams of Massachusetts. All were fine types of American manhood, each making up for any deficiency, which might exist in the other two. As a matter of fact, it would seem as if Franklin, though among the wisest of men, was a trifle too optimistic in his diplomatic work. In addition to this, he was getting to be an old man and was suffering from illness. Jay on the other hand knew better than Franklin the duplicity of the Bourbon Court. He belonged to a family which had suffered every indignity from that royal house in the past, and the very blood in his veins gave him an instinctive knowledge which Franklin, framed in the powerful Anglo-Saxon mold, did not possess.

It may be too, that Jay while in Madrid had been enabled to look behind the scenes which Franklin never was. The latter calculated that France would be satisfied by the

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humiliation of England and the restriction of her power in the New World. Jay saw this and more. He perceived that beneath the desire for revenge, always a failing with the French people, and the assumed sympathy for a crushed community, there was a grasping ambition, which intended to make the New World into a New France. Had the plans of the Cabinets at Versailles and Madrid been carried out, the American colonies would have jumped from the frying pan into the fire. They would have passed from the tyranny of the Common law to the greater tyranny of feudal Bourbonism. Franklin and Adams were quick to perceive the full significance of the situation when Jay explained his views. Ordinary men would have proceeded, like pawns upon a chess board, and played into the hands of Vergennes, but the American Commissioners were of a different make. They went ahead upon their own initiative, disobeyed Congress in every respect, secured American Independence and defeated the finely drawn plans of France and Spain.

The result though hailed with acclamation by the nation at large precipitated many quarrels and much abuse. Congress had been induced by French diplomacy to command the three Commissioners to report their proceedings to the French Ministers and to do nothing without their approval and consent. Vergennes relied upon this, and apparently kept no watch upon the dauntless trio. In European diplomacy of that time, an Envoy was an employé, who did as he was told. If a French Minister had behaved as did Jay and Franklin, the Bastile or the grave would have

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been his reward. The storm which broke out against Jay after the treaty had been consummated was short-lived. The joy-restored peace and acquired independence filled all hearts.

John Adams, who had worked faithfully and well as a Commissioner, declared that the title of "The Washington of the Negotiation," which had been bestowed upon him, belonged properly to John Jay.

On his return to New York in 1784, Jay took office as Secretary for Foreign Affairs, to which he had been elected by Congress in his absence. Here, he remained for five years, during which time he labored tirelessly in the discharge of his duties. During the discussion concerning the National Constitution, he was an energetic advocate of that instrument and contributed to the *Federalist* with Hamilton and Madison. In the severe struggle which took place in New York in respect to the adoption of the Constitution he was one of the leaders in its favor, and aided largely in securing its approval. When government was organized upon the new basis, he accepted from Washington the Chief-Justiceship of the Supreme Court, the latter having offered to him whatever position he might be pleased to select. His career upon the bench was such as to bring forth Webster's great epigram, "When the spotless ermine of the judicial robes fell on John Jay, it touched nothing less spotless than itself."

In 1794 Washington appointed him a Special Envoy Extraordinary to Great Britain where in the same year he negotiated what is known as "Jay's Treaty." His diplo-

## BUILDERS OF THE REPUBLIC

matic work in this affair was of a very admirable kind and put an end to the difficulties which had grown up between the two countries and were so bitter that before his appointment, war seemed imminent. The opposition in Congress took a strange delight in fomenting discord, and even when Washington appointed Jay as the best man to heal up the threatening breach, the political foes of the Administration, under the leadership of Aaron Burr, tried their hardest to prevent pacific measures and the confirmation of Jay's appointment. Yet of these malcontents a majority congratulated the Chief Justice upon his return. If Jay's work was praised at home, it was abused in England. Lord Sheffield voiced English opinion when he referred to it "as that most impolitic treaty of 1794 when Lord Grenville was so perfectly duped by Jay."

While on his way home Jay was elected Governor of New York State, and re-elected three years later in 1798. At the expiration of the second term President Adams offered him his old seat as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, which he declined. Public life had lost nearly all of its attractions and the great issues with which he had been identified were now settled. The remaining twenty-eight years of his life were spent in attending to his large estates, and in philanthropic and religious work.

His brilliant career was based upon a singular combination of virtues. Unlike his compeers he was exceedingly religious and upright. He was devout by heredity and education, and in addition, he had a congenital distaste for vice and all the weaknesses of life.

## JOHN JAY

He was one of the first society leaders to frown upon the time-honored practice of intoxication at dinner parties. He objected to the social gambling then so prominent in all walks of life. To him marriage was a sacrament, and all love was to be consecrated to a wife. In speech and writing, his expressions were never marred by vulgarity, slang, profanity or double entendre. His piety was unobtrusive, and his religion more a matter of life than of form and ceremony. This combination of qualities militated mayhap against his popularity but increased the respect in which he was held by the community, until it amounted almost to reverence. In the acrimonious politics of the last decade of the Eighteenth century the very terms of abuse which were heaped upon him were compliments in disguise. "The goodly aristocrat," "The Virtuous Envoy," "The Learned Abolitionist" and similar phrases were the worst terms which his opponents could apply to him. The age had a brutal frankness, and the peccadilloes of prominent men were magnified by the press and politicians of the opposition into crimes of the first magnitude. Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton and Franklin were too often the target of Billingsgate and villification. Jay, who probably had as many enemies as any other man of his period, passed through the ordeal with almost no personal criticism.

His mind was legal and literary. In writing to his wife and children he employed as faultless a diction as in drafting a treaty or framing a Constitution. His letter on "Currency, Finance and the Relations of the State to the

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*Money World* " is one of the ablest contributions to financial science, while his " *Address to the People of Canada and of Ireland* " was declared to be " a production certainly of the finest pen in America." His opinions as Chief Justice are models of logic and literary excellence.

His aristocratic nature and lineage revealed themselves at every point. Graceful and pleasing by birth, he was chivalrous and fascinating by education. Nevertheless this man, who loved beauty and æsthetic surroundings, was one of the strongest opponents of the tendency toward investing the government with royal pomp and pageantry. He objected to officials wearing the jeweled uniforms of Europe, and to citizens of the Republic employing titles that were echoes of monarchical institutions.

His success in life was largely aided by his wife, Sarah Van Brugh Livingston, oldest daughter of William Livingston, the fighting Governor of New Jersey. Strikingly beautiful, she was said to be the counterpart of Marie Antoinette, the unfortunate French Queen. She had the grace, sweetness and accomplishments of the latter, but beyond these she inherited a powerful intellect from her talented father. She must have been singularly attractive, because she was as popular in Madrid and Paris as in her own country. A careful housewife and manager she was eminently successful in the management of their estates when her husband was away from home. She entertained with skill, and made her parlors the first salon in New York for many years. She was an ideal mother and transmitted the characteristics of both herself and her

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husband to their children and grandchildren, who have sustained the family name and prestige up to the present time.

It may be noted of Jay's personality that what enemies he had were political and not personal, while on the other hand the friends that he made, he retained for life. The friendship between himself and Washington was a case in point, and called forth the following letter from the First President which has been preserved in the family archives.

*"WEST POINT, October 7, 1779.*

*"DEAR SIR:*

*"Among the number of your friends, permit me also to congratulate you, on your late honourable and important appointment. Be assured sir, that my pleasure on this occasion, though it may be equalled, cannot be exceeded by that of any other.*

*"I do most sincerely wish you a pleasant and agreeable passage, the most perfect and honourable accomplishment of your ministry and a safe return to the bosom of a grateful country.*

*"With the greatest regard, and sincerest personal attachment,*

*"I have the honour to be, Your most obedient,*

*"Affectionate humble servant*

*"GEORGE WASHINGTON."*

*To JOHN JAY.*

While abroad he met with David Hartley, M. P. and despite the war which prevailed between their countries,

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he won the Commoner's heart in such a way as to inspire the letter, which follows:

"Your public and private conduct has impressed me with unalterable esteem for you as a public and private friend; \* \* \* if I should not have the good fortune to see you again, I hope you will always think of me as eternally and unalterably attached to the principles of renewing and establishing the most intimate connection of amity and intercourse and alliance between our two countries. I presume that the subject of American intercourse will soon be renewed in Parliament, as the term of the present Act approaches to its expiration. The resumption of this subject in Parliament will probably give ground to some specific negotiation,—you know my sentiments already. I thank you for your inquiries concerning my sister. She continues much in the same way as when you were at Bath—that is to say as we hope in a fair way to final recovery, though very slowly. My brother is well, and joins with me in sincere good wishes to yourself and family, and to the renovation of all those ties of consanguinity and friendship which have for ages been interwoven between our respective countries."

Lafayette, who represented France, wrote while on a visit to this country.

"MONTICELLO, Nov. 10, 1824.

"MY DEAR SIR:

"As soon as I found myself once more on the happy shore of America, one of my first inquiries was after you,



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and the means to get to my old friend. The pleasure to see your son was great indeed, but I regretted the distance, engagements, and duties which obliged me to postpone the high gratification to meet you after so long an absence. Since that time I have been paying visits and receiving welcomes, where every sort of enjoyments and sights exceeding my own sanguine expectations, have mingled with the feelings of a lively and profound gratitude.

“From you, my dear sir, and in the name of Congress I was last honored with a benevolent farewell. Now, I am going to Washington City the constitutional forms having changed, to await the arrival of the members of the Houses and be introduced to each of them with my thanks to their kind invitation to this our American land.

“Your letter reached me on my way through a part of the States; I wish I could myself bear the answer or tell you when I can anticipate a visit to you; but waiting longer would not enable me to know it, at least, for some time. I therefore beg you to receive the grateful respects of my son and the expression of most affectionate sentiments from your old Revolutionary companion and constant friend.

“LAFAYETTE.”

TO JOHN JAY.

Jay, like Hamilton and Jefferson, was a man of broad conceptions and high ideals. He had a profounder belief in humanity than Hamilton, and a clearer perception of ethical principles than the great Parliamentarian. In him,

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the practical and theoretical were well balanced. His nature was altruistic. He began public life as the president of an abolition society and he closed it as the director of the American Bible Society. In all things he tried to do good, and upon this basis rests the enduring superstructure of his fame.

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## VI

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### JOHN ADAMS

*Born, October 31, 1735; Died, July 4, 1826.*

**F**ORTUNE is a fickle jade, who distributes her favors irrespective of the individual upon whom they are conferred. To one, she presents a hundred opportunities and to another none. It is well when the man who receives her attention has the power to enjoy his opportunities to the utmost. Such a character was John Adams of Massachusetts, the second President of the United States. Of all the founders of the nation, none had a nobler endowment wherewith to begin life, none had more opportunities offered unto him, and none took greater advantage of the flying moment. The story of his career is the fitting by nature of a great personality for an environment of world-importance, and the creating of that environment for the man when he was ready. His life possesses a symmetry that may be compared to that of a classic statue. It is absolutely unlike that of Franklin, who fought his way from a candle maker upward, or of Hamilton, who was an unknown newcomer from a West Indian isle.

Adams belonged to a family which has furnished so many examples of sterling manhood to the nation, and inherited the grim courage, tenacity, intelligence and love of liberty which had marked it for four centuries. From some ancestor, he derived other and rarer qualities, insight into the

great laws which move nations, the poetic impulse, a masterly power of thought and expression and singular frankness and rectitude. Though a Yankee of Yankees, he did not possess one of the so-called Yankee qualities. His mind tended to high thought even in boyhood. At school, in his home in Braintree, Mass., and at Harvard, where he was graduated in 1755, he found his chief joy in studying the masterpieces of the literature of his time. From his diary and speeches, as well as the comments of contemporaries, we know that he was well acquainted with Homer, Xenophon, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Shakespeare, Pope, Bracton, Granville, Coke, Lord Hale, Montesquieu, Voltaire, Justinian and all the writers upon Roman, Natural, Ecclesiastical and Common law. At the age of twenty-nine, he wrote a thesis on Canon and Feudal law, which despite the progress made in comparative jurisprudence since that period may be studied to-day with edification and delight.

He belonged to what was then the aristocracy of New England, which in the Eighteenth century was based upon education, wealth and family connections. The college man was naturally a leading light in Provincial society, and when he came of an opulent family holding a high social position, the combination made him one of the "four hundred" of the time.

In college, if not before, Adams began to have doubts as to the truth of the religious doctrines of the time; but before coming to any conclusion, he made a careful study of the works of the great theologians and the political and philosophic writers of the age. None of these appears to

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have swayed him; before he reached manhood's estate, he boldly admitted that he was an Arminian, which in those days corresponded to the Unitarian of to-day in belief, but to the Agnostic so far as public esteem was concerned. As a matter of fact he seems to have been a Deist.

He took up the study of the law, and was one of the first American practitioners to appreciate and master Blackstone, whose famous Commentaries had just been published. In doing this he incurred the scorn of the older members of the bar, who regarded Coke on Littleton as the treasure house of all legal knowledge. He read law not to become a mere attorney but a jurist. The average member of the legal profession in those days went through a curriculum of a handful of books, and those pertaining exclusively to Common-law and Practice. Adams went much farther, and gave several hours each day to familiarizing himself with the subject as an entirety, beginning with the early Roman law and tracing its development through the various European countries to the present time. Little did he know at the time when he was burning the midnight oil over Justinian, Vattel and Montesquieu, that he was preparing himself to be a great statesman and diplomat in long years to come.

His first great triumph in life took place in 1764, when he was married to Abigail Smith, of Weymouth, Mass., who possessed wealth, social position, beauty, and an intellect of such rare power as to make her the most distinguished member of her sex in that period. In that year began the agitation over the contemplated Stamp Act, in

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which both Adams and his wife took strong grounds against the proposed measure. The following year he was prominent in the Town Meeting of Braintree, where the law was denounced in scathing terms. He drew and presented the resolutions which were adopted at the session, and thereafter by at least forty towns in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay.

So deep was the impression produced by these resolutions that shortly afterwards when the citizens of Boston addressed a memorial to Governor Hutchinson, praying that the Supreme Court would overlook the absence of stamps upon all legal documents, a practice which had been adopted as a practical protest by the legal profession, Adams was chosen with James Otis and Jeremiah Gridley as counsel to represent Boston at the gubernatorial hearing. Here the young lawyer delivered a speech notable for its logic, cogency and erudition. In this, for the first time the ground was publicly taken that the Stamp Act was null and void since it was "Taxation without Representation." The same month he began writing upon political topics, and contributed a series of leading articles to the *Boston Gazette*. They dealt with the vexed question of constitutional and colonial rights, but were so cleverly phrased that they appealed even more to non-professional than professional readers. His practice and reputation grew from day to day. So many Bostonians engaged him as counsel, that in 1768 he left his home and settled in that city.

The British government in those days had a cunning

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policy of buying up the opposition by giving appointments under the Crown, selecting an office, whose honor and emoluments were equal to their valuation of the man appointed. Adams must have been regarded as a power, for the Attorney-General offered him the position of Advocate-General in the Admiralty Court. This meant not only high official and social status but also a salary and fees, which combined made the Advocate-General a rich man. The bait was tempting, but Adams declined it, although not possessing much ready money. Again and yet again was the offer made, but without acceptance.

On March 5, 1770, occurred the Boston massacre. Popular indignation rose to a white heat, and when Captain Preston and the seven soldiers under him in the outrage were indicted for murder, there was difficulty in obtaining counsel to defend them. Lawyers, who were appealed to were afraid of losing caste and declined to serve. Adams, with superb courage, volunteered to represent the accused, and with his cousin, Josiah Quincy, made a defense of rare ability. His action roused a storm of protest at first, but this died away in the recognition of his moral courage. It even increased his popularity, so that the people elected him that year to the legislature.

Here, he rose rapidly, and was soon the chief legal adviser of the patriots. Before a year had gone by he had become one of the four leaders of the Colonial party, his associates being Samuel Adams, John Hancock, and Joseph Warren. Two years afterwards occurred the attempt of the British government to transfer the Massachusetts

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judges from Colonial to Crown jurisdiction. Against this measure Adams spoke convincingly, and what made a larger impression, he wrote a series of articles which were printed, distributed and read in every town of Massachusetts.

He had now become a stumbling block to the administration. He was chosen a member of the Governor's Council, but Hutchinson quickly vetoed the election. Early in 1773 and 1774, he was in constant consultation with Samuel Adams respecting the committees of correspondence, and in April was elected a delegate to the First Continental Congress. His was the pen which drew the resolution passed by that body, and his the voice that electrified the proceedings in Philadelphia. In that famous council he was intellectually and oratorically the first.

On his return from Philadelphia he was elected to the Revolutionary Provincial Congress then assembled in Concord. Here he did good work and from now on until April, 1775, he contributed many invaluable studies upon the issues then pending to the Massachusetts press. It may be said that Adams, from 1764 had been pursuing an educational campaign. When he began, he represented a very small element in the community. Not until 1776 had his opinions become those of the country at large.

With extraordinary clarity of vision he saw from the beginning that beneath all the little issues lay a vital question, involving the fundamental principle of political being. Nearly all of the Colonial leaders believed in the inviolability of British suzerainty, and the British Constitu-





**BIRTHPLACE OF JOHN ADAMS**  
*At Quincy, Mass. Built in 1681*

THE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535  
JULY 10, 1964

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tion. They conceded to the mother country the legal right to frame and repeal charters for the Colonies and objected only when these charters conflicted with their own rights. Adams saw that just as the Constitution was a matter of growth in England and had obtained its power by expressing the necessities of the community where it had grown, so in every colony a Colonial constitution had been evolved and grown up which bore the same relation to the colony as the British Constitution did to the kingdom. He therefore held and with great logic that while a Colony was in a formative state its charter might be justly and properly amended, modified or repealed; but that after a colony had grown up pursuant to a charter it had acquired vested rights which could not be changed without its own consent.

His position was in a vague way the same as that maintained by Daniel Webster in the Dartmouth College case. It was partially expressed in the war cry, "No Taxation without Representation," but it went far deeper. The recognition of this great principle is to be found in many of Adams's addresses, and in most of the polemical literature which he published during this period.

Equally clear was his vision as to the outcome of the relations between the mother country and the Colonies. Even as late as the second Continental Congress very few of the Colonial leaders saw the impending war. It is true that Washington, with prophetic insight, had declared his willingness to equip a thousand men and march at their head for the relief of Boston, but the general belief as well as

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hope was that the British government would soon change its attitude and things would revert to their former status. Both John and Samuel Adams were the wise men who saw that war was inevitable. They realized that the fifteen thousand men who had gathered to besiege the British in Boston were a gauntlet which the British Ministry would take up in uncontrollable fury. In this crisis the two kinsmen worked together, and it is difficult to say how the credit should be divided between them for their actions in the National Assembly. They knew that Massachusetts could not stand alone against England, and that the other colonies, especially Virginia, must be brought in at all hazards to its support. John Adams, therefore, moved the appointment of Washington as the Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army. This must have been done at the instance of Samuel Adams. The former, unlike the latter, was deficient in military knowledge and judgment. As he never seemed to appreciate Washington's generalship it is probable that in his motion he was the mouthpiece of Samuel Adams, who was a better authority in such matters and who had a warm admiration for the Virginian.

In the fall of that year, Congress received memorials from New Hampshire, South Carolina and Virginia, each asking advice as to the form of government which it should adopt. Adams promptly induced his colleagues to recommend state governments based upon popular suffrage. In May, 1776, he offered a resolution that all the Colonies should be invited to form independent governments. The resolution was bitterly opposed, more especially by the

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delegates from the Middle States, but was finally carried.

On June 7th, Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, moved the Declaration of Independence, and was seconded by John Adams. In the discussion upon the Declaration, he now made the great speech of his life, one which will always hold a high place in the history of American eloquence. Beside speaking he was one of the fighters in the parliamentary arena, and both while the House was in session and had adjourned he lost no time in trying to persuade, convince and convert weak friends and strong enemies. It was his work during this crisis which brought forth Jefferson's famous encomium that Adams was the "Colossus of the debate."

In 1777, he was appointed Commissioner to France, superseding Silas Deane. He reached his post in April the following year. Here he was called upon to perform a set of duties very different from any which had yet devolved upon him. He found that the interests of the Colonies in France were so mismanaged as to be a disgrace in the eyes of the business world. Instead of having a recognized agent or committee with full power, they were represented by numerous commissioners, deputies, agents and people unknown to him. With the ability of a business man he reduced chaos to order and made the Commission the sole Colonial power in Paris. Finding that the Commission itself was cumbrous, he recommended that instead of a three-headed body there should be a single Minister. Congress appreciated the wisdom of his advice

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and adopted his plans, making Franklin the Minister at Paris and Arthur Lee at Madrid. Adams returned immediately thereafter, reaching Boston in August, 1779. He had scarcely arrived home when he was elected to the Constitutional Convention of Massachusetts, and immediately thereafter was appointed Peace Commissioner to treat with Great Britain.

Proceeding to Paris he joined Franklin, and began the negotiations which were to last long and weary months ere peace and independence were secured. While residing abroad he was made a Special Commissioner for obtaining a National loan in Holland. On arriving in the Netherlands he was compelled to undertake an educational campaign. The Dutch knew little of the Colonies, and of this much was not in their favor. Adams soon changed popular feeling by numerous articles to the press of Holland, and personal interviews with statesmen, bankers, and private citizens. As a reward of his indomitable energy, Holland recognized the independence of the United States in April, 1782, and shortly after a loan of two million dollars was consummated between the two countries. This was followed in October by a commercial treaty between Holland and the young Republic. His labor in this matter was arduous in many ways. Beside the difficulties which appeared upon the surface, he had to overcome obstacles raised by British diplomacy on the one side and by the crafty French Cabinet on the other. To still further complicate the problem, Holland at that time was so bound by treaties with Russia, Austria, and other countries that it seemed

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almost impossible to induce her to act without obtaining the full consent of all her allies.

In his diplomacy, he adopted the vigorous and even brusque style which was used by Bismarck in the Nineteenth century, and he was rewarded with the same success as that which fell upon the Iron Chancellor. On account of his courtly bearing, intellectual eloquence and profound legal knowledge, this very brusquerie made him a puzzle to the diplomats of Europe. They assumed that his straightforwardness was a crafty mannerism beneath which were concealed designs altogether different from those which he made public.

He had been so efficient a servant of the people, that in 1783, when he asked leave to come home the federal authorities instead of granting this request, appointed him as Special Commissioner, with Franklin and Jay, to arrange a commercial treaty with Great Britain. From London, he went again to Holland and thence to France for the young Republic. He arranged the pourparlers of a Treaty with Prussia, but before it was signed he was appointed Minister to the Court of St. James. Proceeding to the British capital, where he remained from May, 1785, to February, 1788, he had to bear the brunt of the ill will and detestation with which the Court viewed its late Colonies. Though treated with formal courtesy he was made to feel in a thousand and one ways that the cause and the people he represented were abhorrent to Great Britain. A man of a weaker mold would have resigned in disgust and gone back to the United States. Adams was made of

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sterner stuff, and endured contumely and insult with stoical fortitude. He endeavored to make a diversion in favor of the Colonies by many speeches and publications. These won friends abroad, but in some way made enemies at home. Men of unbalanced minds and small-fry politicians, whose chief object in life is the tearing down of men greater than themselves, used these writings to support an argument that he was a monarchist in disguise, and at heart opposed to republican institutions. They could not have affected the public mind to any great extent because upon his return Congress passed a vote of thanks to him for "the patriotism, perseverance, integrity and diligence," he had manifested in the ten years passed abroad.

At the first election for President under the present Constitution sixty-nine electoral votes were cast. Each elector voted for two candidates, the one receiving the largest number of votes being made President and the second, Vice-President. The canvass showed George Washington to have received sixty-nine votes, John Adams thirty-four, John Jay nine, Robert Hanson Harrison six, with scattering votes for John Rutledge, John Hancock, George Clinton, Samuel Huntington, John Milton, James Armstrong, Benjamin Lincoln, and Edward Telfair. The results were a surprise to nearly every one especially to Adams. It astonished and grieved him to see that Washington was the unanimous choice of the Nation while he had not received even a majority vote for second choice. The great constitutionalist was too much of a Spartan to make complaint, but inwardly, he experienced intense pain. He was essen-



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tially a man who lived in the world of intellect, and he could not understand how the people could prefer Washington, who so far as he could see were merely a second or third rate soldier. Neither could he understand why the electors could for their second choice have named such men as Rutledge, Harrison, Hancock and the rest. To a certain extent he was justified in these feelings. If honors had been awarded for intellectuality and nothing else, he would have been President and Jay, Vice-President; but intellectuality is only one factor of life. Personality is equally potent, and when it comes to the ultimate struggle for a principle neither force can compare with military genius. Upon the last cast of the dice the world turns to the warrior, and not the sage nor the philanthropist.

The second presidential election was similar to the first. Again Washington received the vote of every elector, and the second choice was almost as badly broken as it had been at the first election. Adams received seventy-seven votes, George Clinton fifty, Thomas Jefferson four and Aaron Burr one. During the eight years of his Vice-Presidency Adams proved himself a patriot of the best kind, and a statesman of more than average ability. He did not, however, increase his popularity or political strength. Despite his record and the many opportunities which were offered to him he began to be out-stripped by Jefferson on the one side and Hamilton on the other. Political opinion and agitation were growing rapidly and assuming new phases to meet new conditions in national life. Adams's mind at this stage seems to have been set in the present and

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past rather than upon the future. The young and progressive lawyer was yielding to the tendencies of his profession and becoming conservative and fixed.

Fortunately for him the country was still in a formative condition, so that at the third election which was hotly contested the inertia of the past carried him through successfully and made him President of the United States. The vote, however, was singularly close, the canvass showing Adams to have received seventy-one votes, Jefferson sixty-eight, Thomas Pinckney fifty-nine, Aaron Burr, thirty, Samuel Adams fifteen, Oliver Ellsworth eleven, George Clinton nine, and scattering votes for John Jay, James Iredell, George Washington, John Henry, Samuel Johnston, and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney.

The figures, to his trained mind, were like the handwriting on the wall. Not alone had he been elected by an insignificant majority, but he had not received the support of the majority of the Federalist party, they having thrown one hundred and forty-five votes of which but seventy-one had gone to him. The young Republican party had cast one hundred and ten of which Jefferson had received sixty-eight. It was clear to him and to every politician of the period that the proud Federalist organization was on the swift decline and that his star was in the descendant: that the Republican party was the coming ruler of the nation, and that Thomas Jefferson was its prophet. Though he had achieved the highest honor in the land he must have realized that he was the last of the school of thought for which he had fought so long and well. Un-



*John Jay*

*John Adams*

*William T. Franklin*

*Henry Laurens*

*Benj. Franklin*

# THE UNITED STATES COMMISSION IN 1782 TO SIGN THE TREATY OF INDEPENDENCE

*From an unfinished painting by Benj. West, in possession of the Rt. Hon. George Belper, Kingston Hall, England*

1911

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doubtedly he was as strong a democrat in the true sense of the word as Clinton, but he had espoused the principles of strong central government and had identified himself with those who were popularly known as the "aristocrats," a term which in most instances was perfectly justified.

In careless moments, both in speech and writing, he had used expressions which indicated a distrust of the common people and an abiding faith in the "well-born" and well-to-do. He favored a restricted suffrage and believed that the governing class should be drawn from the well-bred and well-educated. There was hypocrisy and demagoguery in those days ever more than at the present time, and his opinions which would never have been allowed to influence his political action, were seized upon by the opposition, distorted and exaggerated to monstrous proportions.

He saw before him a stormy term in office, but hoped by firmness and wisdom to preserve the nation according to his own views.

That he appreciated and discussed the gravity and situation is shown in a beautiful letter to him from his wife who seems to have been his alter ego:

"QUINCY, 8 *February*, 1797.

" 'The sun is dressed in brightest beams,  
To give thy honors to the day.'

"And may it prove an auspicious prelude to each ensuing season. You have this day to declare yourself head of a nation. And now, O Lord, my God, Thou hast made Thy servant ruler over the people. Give unto him

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an understanding heart, that he may know how to go out and come in before this great people; that he may discern between good and bad. For who is able to judge this Thy so great a people? were the words of a royal sovereign; and not less applicable to him who is invested with the Chief Magistracy of a nation, though he wear not a Crown nor the robes of royalty.

“My thoughts and my meditations are with you, though personally absent; and my petitions to Heaven are that the things which make for peace may not be hidden from your eyes. My feelings are not those of pride or ostentation upon the occasion. They are solemnized by a sense of the obligations, the important trusts and the numerous duties connected with it. That you may be enabled to discharge them with honor to yourself, with justice and impartiality to your country, and with satisfaction to this great people, shall be the daily prayer of your,

“A. A.”

The troubles in his administration were from external rather than internal causes. The world was convulsed with the deadly strife between England and France, and the Americans were divided in their sympathies between the two nations. At one moment war with France seemed imminent. Washington was appointed Lieutenant-General and the Navy put into readiness for action. Adams saw the folly of the nation embroiling itself in a European conflict and averted war at the loss of the popularity he had. Viewed in the calm light of to-day he pursued the right

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course. If mere selfishness be regarded the country was in no condition for war and had it plunged into the contest would have suffered ruinously. The troubles it had fifteen years later in its struggle with Great Britain would have taken place during his administration with far greater loss to the young and weak Republic.

In the latter part of his administration, he and his colleagues were guilty of many unwise acts for which the people held them responsible at the next election. To increase still further his anxiety his own party was split into fighting factions between which there was as much enmity as between Federalist and Republican.

In 1800 the electoral vote announced the death of Federalist power and the accession of a Republican to the executive chair.

The remaining twenty-five years of his life he devoted to study and literary work. He lived to see himself a leader in the world of letters as he had been in law and politics. The evil times which he had prophesied as a result of the triumph of Jefferson and Jeffersonian ideas never came. He had the moral courage to admit the fact, and to become as warm a friend of the great Parliamentary as he had been his enemy. It was very appropriate therefore that his dying words should have been, "Thomas Jefferson still survives!"

Equally happy was the fortune which enabled him to witness the election of his son John Quincy Adams to the presidential chair which he had occupied.

In the beginning of Adams's career, he was a leader;

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in the middle, one of a group, who rode at the head of the army they had brought together, carried by the latter and no longer leading; at the end he was left alone while the armies moved onward beneath the banners of new captains. His fame rests upon his eloquence, his dauntless courage, his high intellectuality, his superb hopefulness and his devotion to his people. That he was a signer of the Declaration of Independence was but the smallest event in his achievements; his entire life was one great declaration of independence for the individual in all his relations. He was an apostle of liberty and upon her altar laid all the powers of a great manhood.



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## VII

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### GEORGE CLINTON

*Born, July 26, 1739; Died, April 20, 1812.*

**S**OLDIER, politician, statesman, executive and patriot sum up the character and record of George Clinton, the great revolutionary Governor of the Empire State. He came of a race famous for military and legal talent. English originally, it had passed through the ups and downs which seem to attend the lives of all who live by the sword, and had passed within a hundred years from England to France, Scotland, Ireland, and thence the New World. The habits engendered under such conditions of daily life must have impressed themselves to a greater or less extent upon the children of each generation. That they were brave, intelligent, energetic and determined was a matter of course. That they were courtly, self-centred, tolerant and philosophic was partly at least a matter of that broader education which comes from experience and travel.

In addition to his talents the young man inherited marked physical comeliness. He was a beau in his youth, of striking appearance in middle age, and exceedingly attractive, when as an old man he was one of the great figures at the national capital. He received what training he could at his home in New Britain in Ulster county, New York, but seems to have cared more for hunting, fish-

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ing and athletic sports than for reading or study. When scarcely sixteen he took so deep an interest in the French war that he left home, and going to New York enlisted on a privateer, where he did good service against the fleur de lys of France. His seafaring life was one of un-mixed trial and vexation. The boat was improperly provisioned and equipped; its luck was bad, and the crew contained more discordant and unpleasant elements than was the case with most ships of that time which bore Letters of Marque. Frequently the food supply got so low that all were put on short rations; the water fouled in the tank, causing considerable sickness; twice storms half-wrecked the vessel, and the amount of prize money was insignificant.

When Clinton was again on land, he said he had neither money nor clothing, but muscles of steel, and an appetite which struck fear into the minds of all who entertained him. Yet this cruise was of rare benefit, inasmuch as it gave him a knowledge which was to be of value in years to come. He had gone out to sea an ignorant boy; he came back a good sailor, with a proficiency in the use of the sword, pike, musket, and cannon. Above all he had learned how to obey orders, to work hard and to undergo continuous toil upon his feet for forty-eight hours at a stretch, often performing this upon an empty stomach. These are unusual accomplishments, and they can only be of advantage to a soldier or sailor.

In 1758, before he was nineteen, he became subaltern in the Second Regiment of Ulster county, of which his father, Charles Clinton, was Lieutenant-Colonel, his brother James,

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a Captain, and another brother, Charles, Assistant-Surgeon. Not long after his appointment the regiment was ordered to the front, where it became part of the expedition under Colonel John Bradstreet against Fort Frontenac, near Lake Ontario. Here George's naval knowledge was unexpectedly put in use. On the lake, a French sloop of war had been annoying the English troops whenever possible. There was no English warship upon the waters, and the French commander kept a very poor watch upon his vessel. A small force was detailed under the command of Captain James and Lieutenant George, who electrified the other members of the expedition by capturing the hostile craft. The news traveled rapidly and the two brothers were the heroes of the hour. It was at this period that George Washington took part in the capture of Fort Duquesne in the Ohio district, and the news of the two victories reached Ulster county, N. Y. at the same time, so that the names of the "Two Georges" were joined together in public sentiment for the first occasion. No one ever thought at that moment that this chance union was symbolic of a greater one in days to be.

Clinton gained wisdom and experience during this war, New York state at the time being the gateway through which there was always danger of the French armies invading the Colonies. He performed all sorts of duties and became thoroughly versed in the manual of arms and tactics as practised in Europe, and also with the Indian style of warfare. What was to be of even equal value was the knowledge he acquired of the country. It was obtained at

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a time when he was in the flush of youth and the memory is at its best. So thoroughly were the facts embedded in his mind that up to his old age he could detail almost every strategic route and point between New England, the Great Lakes and Pennsylvania.

On the disbanding of the Colonial army he became a student in the law office of Judge William Smith, and here worked zealously. Upon admission to the bar he settled in New Britain, where shortly afterwards he was appointed a clerk of the Court of Common Pleas by Admiral George Clinton, then Governor of the State. The admiral was a second cousin so that the appointment may be charged partly to kinship, and partly to the gratitude of the British government for the young man's services in the war.

He continued his membership in the militia and did excellent service in inspiring the young men of Ulster county to join the soldiery and to practice military art. He rose by degrees until he was lieutenant-colonel in his old regiment. There was much rivalry in the militia in those days, military functions being the chief popular amusement. We of to-day, who have a thousand fields in which to find entertainment, cannot realize the popularity of the militia companies and regiments of the Eighteenth century. The Second Ulster was one of the crack regiments of the Colony. Its name was known even beyond the New York frontiers, and by everyone interested in such matters the names of George Clinton and James, his brother, were known and esteemed.

He attended to his public duties, and in 1768 was elected

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a member of the Thirty-first Colonial Assembly, his colleague being Charles de Witt, from whom De Witt Clinton received his name.

During this session, several questions arose involving the endless conflict between Crown and Colonies, and in each Clinton espoused manfully the cause of the people. He was re-elected to the Thirty-first Assembly, which lasted nearly six years. During this time the youth was maturing into a splendid type of American manhood. He became a forcible, if not an eloquent speaker, a clear and logical writer, a good committeeman and a careful and successful lawyer. His attitude toward the Crown became more and more hostile, until just before the breaking out of the Revolution he was regarded as one of the "dangerous rebels" in New York. He had good company, for among others in the Thirty-first Assembly were Philip Livingston, Robert R. Livingston, Peter R. Livingston, Lewis Morris and Philip Schuyler. With such a combination of talent it is easy to see the fun they must have had in their official work. They knew even better than the Governor their exact legal rights and privileges, and no matter how outspoken they were in their opposition to royal encroachment or imposition, they were careful not to transgress the cruel iron laws of that period. They seem to have taken delight in saying and doing things which almost touched the borderline of treason; but not once did they commit an offense which the Governor's legal advisers could pronounce actionable.

In 1775, when the committee of correspondence, under

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the leadership of Samuel Adams, had arranged for the assembling of the Second Continental Congress, Clinton was elected a member of that body.

In 1776, he was made a member of the Third Provincial Congress of New York, which body adopted unanimously the Declaration of Independence. He would have been one of the signers of the Declaration, that instrument having been executed on July 15th, but was prevented by military duty. On July 7th, when at Philadelphia, where he had voted for the resolution, he was detailed by General Washington to proceed at once to the highlands of New York with the rank of General. He obeyed orders and did not wait until the Declaration was signed. To his dying day Clinton referred to this unavoidable omission as the greatest sorrow of his life.

From now on he was a whirlwind of energy. His public papers, published by the State and elsewhere, fill thirty large volumes, and are but a fraction of what he did in these years. He attended to the raising of troops, their drill and mobilization; he established workshops and camps; and served in the Fourth Provincial Congress which framed the first State Constitution. Shortly after this he was again called into the field and made a Brigadier-General. October 1777, he and his brother James fought a brilliant battle against his cousin, Sir Henry Clinton. In that year he was elected Governor of New York state, an office to which he was re-elected from 1780 up to 1795. The position was one of the most responsible in the Colonies. Outside of its civil jurisdiction, its military relations were of



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*From the painting by Trumbull, in the Governor's Room,  
City Hall, New York City*





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the first importance. From the north and west there was ceaseless danger of invasion by the British, and more deadly still by the Indians.

In 1780 he thwarted an expedition, led by Sir John Johnson, Brandt and Cornplanter into the Mohawk Valley, whose object was the massacre of the inhabitants of that fertile territory, and thereafter the capture of Albany. With masterly activity, Clinton gathered the largest force possible and started to meet the invaders. Believing that they would meet no strong resistance, these were amazed when their scouts came in and reported that a very heavy force of soldiers and backwoodsmen was just behind. The expedition beat a hurried retreat leaving what few spoils it had taken in the advance.

His coolness and valor were shown when a Massachusetts regiment, whose officers had joined in a cabal, refused to march to support General Schuyler. When the news was conveyed to Clinton, he came forward and threatened to shoot every officer and ringleader of the regiment unless the orders were obeyed. The regiment marched to the relief of Schuyler. At the surrender of Yorktown his brigade received the colors of Cornwallis's army, and after that victory he was put in command of the New York troops stationed at Pompton, N. J.

After the declaration of peace between America and England, he was appointed one of the commissioners to adjust the boundaries between New York and Pennsylvania. This work was done thoroughly and to the satisfaction of both commonwealths.

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Clinton's war record shows him to have been a superb fighter and efficient commander. He was a good strategist and a thorough engineer. He only lacked the genius of moving large bodies to have been a worthy compeer of Washington. As Colonel and Brigadier he had no superior in the Continental forces. That his talents were properly appreciated is shown by all the opinions which have come down from revolutionary times. From Washington to the soldier in the ranks Clinton is invariably referred to in terms of love and approbation.

Washington's confidence in Clinton is well shown in a letter sent to the Council of Safety:

"HEADQUARTERS IN THE CLOVE, 22 *July*, 1777.

"GENTLEMEN: I am informed by General George Clinton that you have vested him with powers to call out the militia of the counties of Ulster, Orange, and Dutchess, and Westchester until the 1st of August, at which time the new legislature is summoned to meet.

"As it will probably be some time before the wheels of the new government can be put in motion, I am fearful that, unless this power is extended to a further time, there will be a vacancy between General Clinton's present commission and the enacting new laws by the legislature, a circumstance which at this time may prove most fatal in its consequences because, from the present appearance of matters, the enemy are upon the point of making some capital move. I could, therefore wish, if it can be done with propriety, that before your board is dissolved, you

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would extend this power of calling out the militia to General Clinton or some other person till such time as you may reasonably expect the new legislature will have met and proceeded regularly to business. I mention General Clinton or some other person, because as he will enter into his office of Governor of the State upon the 1st of August, he cannot probably attend to the business of the militia. If you are of the opinion that he can, I would prefer him to any other. I have the honor to be gentlemen, your most obedient Serv't,

“GEORGE WASHINGTON.”

It is worth recording at this point that this letter of Washington's produced a reply which both astonished and amused the American Commander-in-Chief. It was written by Pierre Van Cortlandt in the stately language of that period, which translated into modern speech was about as follows:

“DEAR SIR: Your favor is at hand. I beg to inform you that the Governor of our State is also the Commander-in-Chief of all its forces and has a larger power than the body of which I am president (The Council of Safety). In making him our Governor, we have given him a larger authority than what you suggest.”

That Clinton deserved all these commendations is shown in a variety of ways. Beneath the stalwart soldier was the kindly gentleman. No matter how excited in the campaign, he never lost sight of the amenities of life. He even consumed valuable time in doing favors for the poor and

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the distressed. To destitute women he would give money and passes so that they could rejoin relatives in other parts of New York or in other Colonies. It made no difference whether the woman was of Colonial or Tory feeling, her sex made her sacred. It was the same thing with men who were in trouble. What could be more eloquent than the Governor's letter to Major-General McDougall.

“POUGHKEEPSIE, 16th *May*, 1779.

“DEAR SIR: This will be handed to you by Mr. James Grant, a half-pay officer in the British Service and who has been a Prisoner on parole ever since the Commencement of the Present Controversy. I am informed that he has strictly complied with it & (in) all Respects, behaved with the greatest Prudence and Propriety & his general Character is that of great Truth and Integrity. He is very desirous of going to New York, where he says he has private business of Importance to him to transact (which I believe to be true); he applied to me a year ago for this Indulgence at a Time when it was not so convenient to grant it & before I was informed of his Character & has waited patiently for it ever since. I have now consented to his going and gave him my Pass on his obtaining your Permission, which I take for granted will not be refused, as an honest Scott merits a degree of Confidence as well as Indulgence.”

On a par with this was his heroic rescue of a British officer in New York city just after the Revolution. While passing along the street the Englishman was attacked by

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a mob, his clothing torn and he put in a cart with the intention of taking him to an open field, where he was to be tarred and feathered. Clinton happened upon the scene by accident and asked the meaning of the turmoil. On being told he sprang into the crowd, which parted on either side, knocked down one man who resisted him, seized the prisoner and carried him in his arms to the sidewalk, and then escorted him to a place of safety.

In the next six years ensued the development of the two great parties of the nation. Here Clinton rose to be one of the foremost leaders and statesmen of the land. He was always a believer in the people, and naturally gravitated toward Jefferson and the Republicans rather than toward Hamilton and the Federalists, but it took him some time to evolve from a States Rights man into a Nationalist. It was not that he was opposed to the idea of a great central government per se, but that he was fearful that this might be employed for the crushing of liberty. His hold upon the public heart was phenomenal. Thus at one time while Governor the people insisted upon making him Lieutenant-Governor also. At three elections, he had no candidate against him. In 1795, in a public address, he refused a renomination for Governor on the ground that for almost thirty successive years he had held elective office and now wished to retire to private life. But in 1800, he allowed the city of New York to elect him to the twenty-fourth session of the Assembly and the following year he was again made Governor, this time over General Stephen Van Rensselaer, one of the most popular men of the State.

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From 1789 up to 1808, he received at each presidential election a number of electoral votes for the Chief Magistracy of the Nation. In 1804 he was made Vice-President of the United States, being on the same ticket as Thomas Jefferson, and in 1808 re-elected, this time with President James Madison. While holding the office, he passed away.

In these political struggles Clinton displayed signal political talent, if not genius. He kept himself thoroughly in touch with the people, and almost invariably interpreted their wishes accurately. Where he took the initiative was in matters in which his education and superior knowledge made him a natural leader. It was he, for example who perceived the necessity of fortifying New York harbor, and after he had made an appeal to the authorities, they responded promptly to his request. He realized the danger which threatened the State from the Indian nations in the western part, and from the closing of the Revolution was a strong advocate of a definite Indian policy. A single act reveals his wisdom in this matter, and that was when in 1783, he induced General Washington to visit the Chiefs of the Senecas, Cayugas and the Tuscaroras. To the redmen the honor was so great as to be a nine days' wonder, and it developed a feeling of gratitude and affection which lasted long after the parties to the action were no more.

It was while the Governor and President were making this voyage that Washington suggested the possibility of connecting the great lakes and tidewater. Two years later Clinton commended the project of Christopher Colles, a

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visionary inventor, who proposed the construction of a canal.

A careful study of his services during the long years he was Governor shows him to have been actuated by the deepest love and fidelity toward the Empire State. He foresaw its colossal future and tried to the best of his ability to facilitate its progress. In every respect he was a strong man. When the Massachusetts government was employing half-hearted measures toward the insurrectionists in the Daniel Shays' Rebellion, Governor Clinton, fearful that the disorder might spread to New York, took such prompt and vigorous action that the mutiny came to an end. In 1788, occurred the Doctor's riot in New York city. At that time there was no provision made for the dissecting rooms of medical students, and grave robberies were resorted to for the necessary supply of subjects. A party of medical students did this so wantonly as to excite popular indignation which culminated in a riot. Governor Clinton went immediately to the scene, and at the risk of his own safety plunged into the mob and endeavored to restore order. In spite of insult and abuse he exhausted his powers of persuasion. Finding his efforts ineffectual he ordered out the militia and dispersed the rioters at the point of the bayonet. There was no other riot during his administration.

His life may be divided into four great chapters, each one of which is a romance in itself. In the first, he was the privateersman, lawyer and militiaman; in the second one of the great warriors of the Revolution; the third shows

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him as the Governor of the Empire State; and the fourth witnesses him in the Vice-President's chair. He carried to the national capital the patriotism, power and probity which had marked his gubernatorial career.

In private life, he was dignified, frank, amiable and affectionate. Both his likes and dislikes were strong and strongly expressed. When government contractors put up the price of wood, he denounced them as specimens of "wooden patriotism." When the Continental troops were on the point of starvation one time, and the government had neither money nor credit, Clinton impressed several tons of flour, and so relieved the army's necessities.

One peculiarity was noticeable. He gloried in a superb physique, being of moderate stature but great breadth and muscularity. He was so proud of his health and strength that he would never confess to being ill even when suffering intense pain. On such occasions, he would endeavor to assuage his suffering by telling humorous stories and entertaining those around him.

Once when wounded, and an officer called his attention to blood trickling from his sleeve he laughed and said "it had come from an injured comrade, who had stood near him when shot."

In his old age he fainted while in a social gathering, and was kept from falling to the ground by a handsome matron who stood near. Upon recovering, he protested against any sympathy and asserted, with a twinkle in his eye, that it was his favorite habit to fall into the arms of beauty.

His wife was Cornelia Tappan, a member of the Knicker-



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bocker family, which gave many prominent men to the nation. She was cast in the same heroic mold as himself and shared with him many of the hardships of his long and earnest life. The union was a happy one and was blessed with one son and five daughters.

Had Clinton been a brilliant man, he would have been one of the great immortals of the Republic, but he did not possess the poetic genius, the power of conceiving great ideals, nor the talent of swaying men's actions by eloquence. His was the strength of a great physical, mental and moral nature. He was a builder rather than an architect, an artisan rather than an artist. Without him and men of his type the nation would have been an impossibility. Others like Franklin, Adams, Jefferson, Hamilton and Jay planned, while he executed.

In the Teutonic mythology the wizard performed wonders through having at his controls a kobold with muscles of steel, unearthly intelligence and tireless energy. The greater wizard, who drew the fabric of the Republic had for his first kobold, George Clinton of New York.

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## VIII

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### SAMUEL ADAMS

*Born, September 27, 1722; Died, October 2, 1803.*

SAMUEL ADAMS was the Richelieu of the American Revolution. In his knowledge of human nature, his mastery of men, his political generalship, his sacrifice of all personal ambition for the good of his country and his singleness of purpose, he is the very counterpart of the immortal cardinal. Where Richelieu was a soldier, Adams was a parliamentarian; the one was a leader of men upon the tented field; the other of men in the invisible battles of political conflict.

The great Massachusetts leader was a descendant of Henry Adams, of Devonshire, England, who crossed the ocean and settled in Braintree, Mass., in 1636. From him descended a race, which generation after generation has produced illustrious children of the Republic, and which can probably point to more members of distinction and public performance than any other family in the New World. Samuel's father was a wealthy Bostonian, who held a prominent place in the community. Deacon and Trustee, Justice of the Peace, Selectman and member of the Colonial Legislature were among the offices which he held with great credit. By the governing classes, he was respected but disliked, as he invariably opposed any extension of Crown privilege or any curtailment of popular

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rights and liberties. He was a politician of no mean ability. Few in those days perceived the principles upon which political action must be carried on wherever there is to be honest, popular government. Among these were the elder Adams, who evolved methods strange enough in those days, but at the present time so common as to excite no comment. He formed clubs and societies in which he and his intimate friends were the moving spirits.

That which made him a power more than all others was one he had established in a district of the city devoted to maritime interests. Its members were captains, shipwrights, carpenters, caulkers, painters, supercargoes and ships storemen. By his political antagonists, it was known as the "Caulkers Club," and on account of its meeting regularly in executive session, and always acting as a unit, the name by degrees evolved into the well known political word, "Caucus."

From the habit of the club members employing remarkable discipline in their political work came the slang phrase in election excitement "he is a caulker," meaning a delegate who obeyed his instructions no matter how great the pressure brought to bear to change his convictions and actions. The phrase continued long after the original vanished and was forgotten, and then degenerated into the ridiculous form "he (it) is a corker," a term still employed in New England and wherever New England influence is felt to indicate superiority or praiseworthiness in man, action, or thing.

With such a father, Samuel Adams could not be other

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than a clever politician. He was a leader among his playmates, the boys of the Boston Latin School and afterwards among the students at Harvard from which in 1740, he was graduated. In his student days he displayed the talents which were to mark him in after life. A good speaker, a strong debater, a quick writer and a tireless scholar, he kept himself prominently in the eyes of the high school and the college. Beside these gifts, he was suave, self possessed and tactful to the last degree. On one occasion he was the moving spirit of a party which determined to screw up a professor's door and so make that worthy an involuntary prisoner. As he began operations, he heard the professor coming to the door. With rare presence of mind, he rapped decorously and when the door was opened, he asked if it were true that the professor was sick and if he could be of any service in the premises. The pedagogue thanked the sympathetic student, and assured him that his only trouble came from the mischievous boys of the class. Whereupon the young statesman promptly acquiesced in the declaration, and asserted "that he was doing his best to keep his colleagues from engaging in objectionable mischief."

The young man's family destined him for a theological career. The son had a deep love for the bar. Fortunately or unfortunately, a compromise was effected and Samuel went into business. His commercial talents were limited, and only through his dogged patience did he earn a fair livelihood in the world of trade.

He might have succeeded but for the generosity of his

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nature. When he had money, he lent it to any friend, even when the hope of return was insignificant. To the plea of distress, he could never give a negative answer. Thus, although at one time he seems to have prospered as a brewer, so far as output or sales were concerned, yet the profits at the end of a year were notably small. He was not as was declared by malicious enemies, one of his own best customers: but from a financial point of view he was almost as bad. He would give credit to failing tap-houses, to poor widows and every other type of person to whom a prudent business man would never listen.

While his monetary returns were very small, his actions built up by degrees a veritable mountain of personal popularity. Hundreds of men, women and children regarded him as a second father, and among these there were scores who were attached to him so fiercely that the feeling might have been compared to that of a bull dog to its master. Though intellectual in a very high degree, he always had a warm love for the common people. He is said to have known every man by sight and name in the city of Boston. Young students, who were perplexed would stop him on the street for advice; blacksmiths would appeal to him as he went by to give them a hand with an unruly horse, children would call upon him to repair a broken toy, and anxious mothers would consult him often in preference to their physicians. He was humorous, but his humor was of that grim variety which marks the Puritanic character. In his case it was agreeable on account of his infinite tact. No matter how great the provocation,

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he never permitted his wit to inflict pain or to injure the self-respect of others.

To this democratic spirit and conduct may be ascribed much of his political success. His quick perception and powerful memory enabled him to ascertain in advance the sentiments of his fellow townsmen prior to any town meeting. When he appeared at the latter the views which he expressed were nearly always successful. People looked at him with amazement, because in many cases he took positions utterly opposed to those of the British administration, and even of the refined and educated classes of the community. They ascribed to him a personal power over the masses, which must have amused him. It is highly probable that in every instance he knew fairly well in advance the strength of the movement which he represented, and being a shrewd politician, he never wasted energy by advocating a cause which he knew would not receive the support necessary to its success.

At the age of thirty, he was the town meeting leader of Boston, and enjoyed the prestige which comes with success. Those who believed that some men are lucky and others are born to good fortune, flocked around him as a leader. In this wise by the time he was forty, he was probably the strongest man politically in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. Fortune favored him in several ways. In early life he had had the advantages of wealth, and college education: he belonged to a family which was numerous and influential and which then as now was marked by a justifiable family pride. He had become the leader of the middle

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*M*

*The delegates of the United States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Vermont, New Jersey, and Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina &c.*

*To George*

*We express special trust and confidence in your patriotism, wisdom and firmness as Commander in chief of the army of the United States and of all the forces for the defence of American liberty and for repelling every hostile invasion for the good and welfare of the people.*

*Kind we do hereby strictly charge and require all*

*Kind we do also require and you to be careful in executing the great trust reposed in you by*

*permeated with all convenient dispatches*

*Kind you are to regulate your conduct as in such orders and directions from time to time as you shall receive from this or a future Congress*

*This Commission to continue in force until revoked by*

*Dated Philadelphia June 19<sup>th</sup> 1775*

*Wm. P. Chathamson fecit*

GEN. WASHINGTON'S CERTIFICATE

For

*Butter may, if right do. — and our friend Howe*

*And for the support of this Declaration, with a*

*Boston Garrison  
Lynnah Hall  
Geothermalton.*

*John Hooper  
Joseph Humes  
John Penn*

*Edmund F. H. & P.*

*Thos. May Jr. & Junr.  
Thomas Lloyd Junr.  
Arthur Middleton*

*John  
Shaw  
Wm.  
Thos.  
Caleb  
Geo.  
Richd.  
Thos.  
Dung.  
Thos.  
James  
Gaster*

SIGNERS OF THE DECLARATION

From the original now in



Ston Esquire

James G. Thompson

By order of the Congress, John Hancock, President

*original*

<p> <i>Wm. Morris</i>  <i>Benjamin Bush</i>  <i>Rev. A. Franklin</i>  <i>John Norton</i>  <i>Geo. Smith</i>  <i>Dr. Smith</i>  <i>Geo. Taylor</i>  <i>James Wilson</i>  <i>Wm. W. W.</i>  <i>Ben. W. W.</i>  <i>Wm. W. W.</i> </p>	<p> <i>John Norton</i>  <i>Geo. Smith</i>  <i>Dr. Smith</i>  <i>Geo. Taylor</i>  <i>James Wilson</i>  <i>Wm. W. W.</i>  <i>Ben. W. W.</i>  <i>Wm. W. W.</i> </p>	<p> <i>John Norton</i>  <i>Geo. Smith</i>  <i>Dr. Smith</i>  <i>Geo. Taylor</i>  <i>James Wilson</i>  <i>Wm. W. W.</i>  <i>Ben. W. W.</i>  <i>Wm. W. W.</i> </p>
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State Department, Washington

THE  
FEDERAL  
BUREAU OF  
INVESTIGATION  
AND  
IDENTIFICATION  
UNIT  
OF THE  
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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and working classes through his intellectual and political abilities. This was a matter of greater power than it is to-day. Social divisions were not as marked in those days and Massachusetts society was comparatively uniform. It was rather stern, religious and conservative. It was also grave, zealous and determined. No one knew better than he, that when these men once made up their minds upon any course no Crown nor army could ever change it except by absolute extermination.

In 1764, the faint clouds upon the political horizon began to enlarge and darken. The proposed Stamp Act had become the subject of discussion, and its unjust provisions had aroused public opposition and resentment. None knew better than Adams the feeling of the townsmen on the subject. When the town meeting took place he spoke briefly but to the point. Every other speaker followed him employing fiercer and more virulent argument than he had done. To the surprise of the community, it looked as if he had become conservative and the people radical. Such was the impression produced upon the governing classes who were therefore pleased when he was appointed to draft the instructions given by Boston to its delegates in the Colonial legislature.

But public feeling soon changed. In May, Adams made the draft, and it fairly rang with what the administration regarded as disloyalty. The mere fact that it came from the lips of their leader made it the law and the gospel of Boston's delegates and the legislature itself. Without knowing it, the man's personality had impressed

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the entire colony as well as the town in which he lived. In 1765, he was elected to the legislature, where he was continued in office for nine years. Here he was made clerk of the House, a position he filled with great skill. During this period he drew the larger part of the State papers, papers which will ever remain models of official workmanship. Within a year the administration came to regard the legislature as being "that man or that traitor Samuel Adams." As a matter of fact he was simply a fitting representative of the Colony. His feelings were their feelings; his nature their nature. His most daring performances were not exceptional because they would have been those of nearly every other member had he had a similar opportunity. But to the outside world, it looked as if he were the master mind of the body, and they were the puppets and pawns which moved when he pulled the wires.

In 1767, immediately upon the passage of the Townshend acts, he wrote the petition of the Assembly to the King, a letter of instruction to the Massachusetts Colonial Agent in London, and what was the momentous paper of all a Circular Letter addressed to the other twelve Colonies inviting them to aid Massachusetts in the defense of the rights and liberties of America. Copies of all three papers were soon in the hands of the British monarch and cabinet. Astonishment rivaled rage in their minds, when they read the contents.

A royal order was immediately sent to Governor Bernard, requiring him to command the legislature to rescind or

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withdraw the Circular Letter under penalty of dissolution and other punishments. There were weak men in the Assembly but they formed a minority. The Governor's communication was made the subject of a long discussion, in which Adams was the hero of the debate, and then by a vote of 92 to 17 the legislature refused to rescind its action. This determination was greeted with applause by patriotic colonials in every community and denounced by the supporters of the government, who in the coming struggle were to be the Tories of that time. It increased the bitter feeling in London, which now regarded Boston as the hotbed of rebellion and Samuel Adams as the arch rebel.

So strong was this feeling, that when in 1770 Samuel Adams, after a fiery town meeting in which more than five thousand Boston citizens were present, offered the resolutions which he had himself drawn and which had been passed amid wild cheers of the citizens demanding that the two regiments garrisoned in Boston should be removed to the castle in the harbor, and the troops after long negotiation were transferred, they were afterwards known in parliament as the "Sam Adams" regiments.

In 1772, in order to get around some legal forms which interfered with popular action, Adams devised a scheme which was to play a strong part in the Revolutionary drama. The English Cabinet, with a view of punishing the Colonial malcontents in the local courts, determined to make the judges Crown officers payable from the royal purse instead of Colonial officials payable from the local

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treasury. This scheme would have made every tribunal a political engine to be manipulated by the Throne. The announcement aroused indignant protests throughout Massachusetts. The judges were notified that they would be impeached if they should consent to the transfer and receive their salaries from the royal treasurer. A town meeting was held and a resolution passed unanimously asking Governor Hutchinson to convene the legislature to take action upon the matter. As the law stood the legislature could only meet when so ordered by the Governor. Without the latter's initiative it had no power nor jurisdiction. The Governor promptly refused, and Adams just as promptly suggested that the towns of the Colony should appoint committees of correspondence to consult with one another upon public affairs. This practically started a new autonomous and independent Assembly in Massachusetts. Within a few days the idea had been taken up and acted upon. Within a few months the eighty leading towns had elected Committees, and the whole system was in operation.

This move was a stroke of genius. Yet for nearly a year no one perceived its full significance outside of its author. It was discussed throughout the Colonies and praised in a lukewarm way. It was all very well, said critics but "*cui bono?*" How would it change matters? The royal officials in Massachusetts and other Colonies either treated it with contempt or else laughed at it in derision.

On March 3, 1773, Dabney Carr of Virginia moved in the House of Burgesses to appoint intercolonial commit-

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tees of correspondence for the consideration of plans looking to the public welfare and protecting the Colonies against royal encroachment. He made an eloquent and scholarly address in favor of the resolution, which was adopted by the House. This was done after a careful discussion between Carr and his brother-in-law, Thomas Jefferson, and probably expressed the views of the latter as much as those of the mover of the resolution. If these committees had done nothing more they would have been of invaluable service in that for the first time they brought the Colonies together as a single body of men. Before this period the Colonies had been segregate units. Now they began to coalesce into an organic whole. Adams foresaw that the system of committees was bound to have two results; first, it would be adopted by all of the other Colonies, and second that it would develop into forms of state and national government. Both of these occurred. In Massachusetts by degrees the management of public affairs was voluntarily entrusted to the Committees of Boston and the five adjacent towns. At the head of this sub-committee, if it may be so termed, was Samuel Adams.

On December 16, 1773, occurred the memorable Boston Tea Party. A crowd of stalwart men, chosen by Adams and his committee, boarded the English tea ships in the harbor and emptied three hundred and forty-two chests of tea into the sea. The shores were crowded by patriotic citizens, who cheered the transaction to the echo, and at its close departed quietly to their homes.

The British ministry was infuriated at this outrage, as

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they termed it, and in April, 1774, a series of acts were passed by Parliament closing the Port of Boston, annulling the charter of Massachusetts, and placing the Colony practically under martial law.

Probably Adams had foreseen all this and made preparations for the event. He certainly had worked with care to start the movement for a Continental Congress, and had familiarized the public mind with the immediate necessity for such a body. In doing this he displayed a statesmanship of rare excellence. In those days Massachusetts was very unpopular with the other Colonies. Its reputation was that of austerity, intolerance, obstinacy and gloom. Knickerbocker New York disliked it on account of its greed. Knickerbocker New Jersey shared these sentiments; Pennsylvania, the Quaker State, remembered only too well the cruelty shown by the Old Colony to the peaceful followers of Fox. The cavalier Colonies still treasured up some antagonism to the descendants of the Roundheads. If the suggestion for a Continental Congress had come from Massachusetts, Samuel Adams knew full well that it would meet with a feeble response. With inimitable craft he induced his friends and correspondents in the other Colonies to inspire Virginia to take the initiative. His scheme worked to perfection. Virginia made the call and the Colonies responded. It is amusing to note that Adams worked so skilfully that no one at the time gave him credit in the affair. When the summons was issued for a Continental Congress, a few patriots were fearful that Massachusetts would not join the movement. There must have



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been some ground for this fear judging from the course Adams took in the Assembly hall when the legislature of Massachusetts met at Salem on June 17, 1774. The moment the delegates were seated, he locked the door and put the key in his pocket. Taking the floor, he put through the measures for having Massachusetts represented at the Continental Congress in September. Two Tory members tried to jump out of the window but were hauled ignominiously back. A third feigned sickness and was allowed to go out in charge of a clerk, but the moment he got outside pushed the clerk over and ran at full speed to the Governor. The latter immediately drew up a writ dissolving the legislature and handed it to a clerk to serve upon that body. Accompanied by a guard the latter marched to the hall but found all doors locked and barred. While waiting outside for an opportunity to get in and serve the writ, the legislature finished its business and adjourned *sine die*, the motion to adjourn, one of the most delicious bits of parliamentary humor in our early history, having been made by Adams. The next legislature of Massachusetts was called by the People and not by the Crown.

At the first Continental Congress Samuel Adams, John Adams, Thomas Cushing and Robert Treat Paine went from the Bay State. There were fifty-three delegates in the Convention, representing the flower of colonial manhood. Doubtless all realized in a vague way the majesty of the occasion, but for the time being they were perplexed with the strangeness of the situation. It was the first time the Colonies had come together in a representative body. Here-

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tofore, they had been appendages of Great Britain, whose sole authority was the Crown. To-day they were representatives and leaders, each of his own Commonwealth, recognizing no authority but right and justice. They were more or less distrustful of one another. Here together were Pilgrim and Puritan, Knickerbocker and Huguenot, Quaker and Anglican, soldiers, lawyers, planters, merchants, officials and adventurers.

On occasions such as this the political intellect comes to dominate the rest. Of all those present the craftiest and deepest was Samuel Adams. His conduct at this Congress was almost Machiavellian. He realized that nothing must intervene which would impair the harmony of the gathering and that all personal feelings and tastes must be subordinated, if not sacrificed for the public good. He saw clearly that Virginia and Pennsylvania were to be placated and compromised. The moment he arrived in Philadelphia he set about making the acquaintance of every delegate to the Congress. When the meeting was called to order, he probably was the only man there who knew everyone else by name and sight.

Determined that Virginia should become the leading colony of the convention he inquired among its delegates as to its ablest man, and found that Peyton Randolph was regarded as its most distinguished lawyer. Going to the South Carolina delegation, he picked out the finest looking man, Thomas Lynch, and suggested that if South Carolina would nominate Randolph, Massachusetts would be only too glad to second the nomination on account of the

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lawyer's high distinction, This suited South Carolina perfectly, which had come to the Congress fearful that New England would try to run the affair in its own interests. Similar maneuvers created a Randolph sentiment, so that when Lynch named the Virginian, he was elected president by acclamation. Equally diplomatic was his treatment of the motion to open the proceedings with prayer. This was opposed by John Jay, who, though a very religious man, declared that he did not think it was right for him to force his views upon others, whose faith might require them to object to such action; that there were at least five sects in the Congress, and it could not be expected that they should unite in formal worship. As Jay seated himself Samuel Adams rose and with his matchless suavity declared that he was no bigot and could hear a prayer from a gentleman of piety and virtue, who was at the same time a friend of his country. "I am a stranger in Philadelphia, but I have heard that the Rev. Mr. Duche deserves the character I have mentioned, and I therefore move that Mr. Duche, an Episcopal clergyman, be pleased to read prayers for this Congress."

This was a thunderbolt, and before the surprise died away it was seconded by John Adams, who had been already coached by his crafty cousin, and went through without dissent. Religious feeling was very strong in those years and Adams's action was most felicitous. Of the delegates present a majority of the New York, Virginian and South Carolinian members were Episcopalians. Mr. Duche was exceedingly popular in Philadelphia and Pennsylvania,

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and had many friends in New Jersey. He was moreover a fine looking, eloquent man who would grace any pulpit. Some people have gone so far as to say that Adams picked him out the day before and had him at the hall on purpose. At any rate his performance was like throwing oil upon troubled waters. It pleased the Episcopalians and it gratified the Middle and Southern colonies.

The work of this convention appears to have been directed throughout by Samuel Adams. He sat writing memoranda, and though taking the floor but little and briefly himself, he talked with and wrote to every speaker and gave information upon every point which came before the House. To nearly all present, he gave the impression of a quiet, well-bred, highly educated gentleman of remarkable urbanity and kindliness. Only two men measured him correctly. One was Patrick Henry, of Virginia, who said: that "the good that was to come from these Congresses was owing to the work of Adams" and the other was the traitor-member, Joseph Galloway of Pennsylvania who had promised with the other fellow members to make public no part of the transaction and who wrote to the British government that "Samuel Adams eats little, drinks little, sleeps little, and thinks much. He is most decisive and indefatigable in the pursuit of his object. He is the man who, by his superior application manages at once the faction in Philadelphia and the factions of New England."

Other government agents sent similar messages to London, which resulted in the British Cabinet dispatching an order to General Gage to arrest Samuel Adams and his tool

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John Hancock, and send them over to London to be tried on a charge of high treason. The London newspapers in commenting on the news predicted gleefully that their heads would soon ornament Temple Bar, according to the barbarous custom then in vogue. An officer was detailed to make the arrests which was to take place on April 19, 1775, but fortunately the tidings leaked out and Paul Revere managed to warn Adams in time. He left his house a half hour before the soldiers arrived and reached Philadelphia in time for the Second Congress.

This was easier sailing than the first, but had its own difficulties and trials. He got through all with consummate address. Two incidents are worthy of notice. One was his making John Hancock president of the body, not because he desired to give his friend any particular honor, correspondents of the time say, but for the reason that Hancock had formed some views which Adams thought unwise, and to prevent that vote being cast, he placed Hancock in the chair. The other was his securing the appointment of George Washington as Commander-in-chief of the Continental forces. He realized the latter's military genius, and at the same time desired to conciliate the great colony of Virginia. In the third Continental Congress he delivered the famous address which even to-day is the delight of schoolboys. It was in this noble speech that he enunciated the words:

“We have explored the Temple of Royalty and found that the idol we have bowed down to has eyes which see not, ears that hear not our prayers, and a heart like the

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nether millstone. We have this day restored the Sovereign to whom alone men ought to be obedient. He reigns in Heaven and with a propitious eye beholds His subjects assuming that freedom of thought and dignity of self-direction which He bestowed on them. From the rising to the setting of the sun, may His Kingdom come."

In 1776 he signed the Declaration of Independence, and until 1782 was the most energetic member of the Continental government.

He took part in framing the State Constitution of Massachusetts. On the adoption of that instrument he was made president of the State Senate. In 1789 he was made Lieutenant-Governor, and in 1794 Governor. The latter part of his life was uneventful, in fact his career really closed when the Colonies became a nation. In the Bay State he found himself in what to his temperament must have been a very painful position. A deep feeling had grown up between the federalist and republican parties. His political instincts were in favor of the former, his personal liking for the latter. As between Hamilton and Jefferson he was a follower of the Virginian. During the long struggle between the Colonies and the Crown his hands were held up by his second wife Elizabeth Wells, who though a royalist of the strongest kind before marriage, became a self-sacrificing patriot afterwards. Even in the darkest hours when she was compelled to suffer, oftentimes wanting the necessaries of life, she never complained but resolutely counselled her husband to keep up the good fight if necessary until death. On one occasion,

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when about to attend Congress, Adams found that he had neither coat nor horse, and only enough cash to pay his expenses on the trip. His good wife, tradition says, borrowed both of these articles from John Adams and a friend and thus equipped him for the journey.

He gave the best part of his life to his country, and the life of his oldest son Samuel who served through the long struggle as a surgeon, and who died laboring in a military hospital.

In political activity, and statesmanlike qualities Samuel Adams was easily the first of the Colonial leaders. He had one mistress, his country, and to her he consecrated all the elements of his being. He cared little or nothing for wealth, place or distinction. In all things he was an ideal patriot.

## PHILIP LIVINGSTON

*Born, January 15, 1716; Died, June 12, 1778.*

A SCHOLAR, merchant and patriot, who in his declining years gave up everything for the rights of the people, to whom he belonged, and who, when his body was undermined by illness, and labor meant death, willingly paid the price in order that he might assist the cause of liberty, was Philip Livingston, better known in historic annals as Philip the Signer of the Declaration of Independence.

He was a great grandson of the Rev. John Livingston, the famous Scottish Divine, who on account of his faith was obliged to leave Scotland for Holland in the middle of the seventeenth century. His grandfather Robert came to the New World and settled in New York, where he bought a vast tract of land in what is now Columbia and Dutchess counties, and for which, he obtained a grant from King George I. This made the Livingstons Lords of the Manor of Livingston and put them on a legal and social par with the Dutch patroons. They were a stern, devout and intellectual race, and possessed to a marked degree the qualities which insure success in any calling, involving the steady exercise of the mental faculties.

Philip the Signer was a fair type of his race, differing from his ancestors in a greater suavity and pleasanter



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manners. These doubtless represented the softening influence of the New World. Education was at a low ebb in the Colony of New York so far as the higher branches were concerned. Philip received his first training, as did most of the youths of his class, from his mother, tutors, and the village clergyman. He progressed so rapidly as to attract notice from his parents' many friends. Upon their advice his father sent him to Yale college in 1733. This was an extraordinary event in those days for many reasons. There was considerable jealousy between New York and Connecticut, and more especially between the lords of the manors and the Connecticut Yankees. In addition were the religious prejudices of the age. The Livingstons were strict Presbyterians, a sect at that time closely allied to the Dutch Reformed Church. Both of these were suspicious of the Anglican Church, and for excellent reasons, and at the time there was a strong though unjust suspicion that Anglican influences were at work in Yale.

The young man matriculated, studied hard, made a fine record for scholarship and was graduated in 1737.

After graduation, he was apparently entered by his father as a student in the Middle Temple, London, but from the first he seems to have had no great taste for the law, but a strong tendency toward commerce. Three years afterwards, he was an active business man in New York who was held in high esteem by the merchants of the time. He was one of the first college-bred merchants in the city, and even in 1746 was described "as one of the fifteen

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persons in the colony of New York, who possessed a collegiate education."

He must have had the same broad commercial talent that marked John Hancock in Boston, and in fact the careers of the two men present a striking parallel. At the age of thirty-five Livingston was not only wealthy but was looked upon as one of the commercial leaders of the little city. He did not allow the pursuit of wealth to dominate his nature. He kept up his family relations by regular visits to Albany and the Manor. He took part in public affairs and was active at the local elections. A college man himself, he was solicitous for the elevation of educational standards, and was one of the group of men through whose efforts Kings, afterwards Columbia College, came into being in 1754.

At this time he became one of the seven aldermen of New York. He made so excellent an official that his constituents returned him eight consecutive times. His electioneering was notable for its stately courtesy and activity. New York had less than fifteen thousand population, and probably not more than two thousand electors. In his district were some four hundred of these, and upon each one he called during the campaign. The population was of mixed nationality, Irish and Germans giving variety to the Dutch, English and New England citizenship. He was elected to the Twenty-eighth Provincial Assembly as a delegate from New York city, in 1759. Here his record was admirable, and was rewarded by re-election to the Twenty-ninth and Thirtieth Assemblies as a member from

## PHILIP LIVINGSTON

New York, and to the Thirty-first as a member from Livingston Manor.

This change in district conceals a number of notable facts. In the Twenty-ninth and Thirtieth Assemblies, which lasted from 1761 to 1769, Livingston had been a strong upholder of Colonial rights. When the Thirtieth Assembly was dissolved in January, 1769, he had incurred the animosity of the Governor. So many complaints had come from England that the Governor's party determined as far as possible to carry the Thirty-first Assembly. They managed affairs so well that Livingston found that there was no chance of his being elected in New York, his former position having been given to John Cruger. He therefore had himself elected from the Livingston Manor, belonging to his family. This was a thunderbolt to the Tories, who immediately set about concocting some scheme which would undo his election. They unearthed precedents in regard to domicile, and although these contravened the Livingston Manorial rights yet they presented them, when the Thirty-first Assembly convened and put them through, dismissing their foe from his seat for non-residence in May, of that year, 1769.

His development into a revolutionary advocate was very gradual. As late as 1759, Great Britain had no more loyal son than Philip Livingston. In the General Assembly of that year he was the leader on the floor of what was then the patriotic party. War was raging between England and France, and the Mother country needed the assistance of its Colonies. New York responded nobly and sup-

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plied men, munitions and money with a generous hand, Livingston contributed from his private purse, and through his vast knowledge and mental discipline was enabled to act as an executive in the Colonial war movement in New York. And yet in this very action it is easy to see the same class of motives that were to influence him before another decade had passed.

In those days the Colonial merchant in the English colonies enjoyed a freedom which his colleague in French territory did not possess. While France was theoretically kind, and helpful in its paternal rule, yet the theory did not work, nor coincide with practice. Monopolies, official fees and cruel laws harassed colonial commerce to such an extent that Canadian trade paid profit to scarcely any one save the courtiers, who benefited by the fiscal system. Livingston with his trained eye saw that the expulsion of France from the New World meant more than the extension of freedom; it involved a far greater commercial future which was to benefit both Canada and the English colonies. From the first, he favored the movement which would extend the British ensign over the American continent.

The wisdom of his views in matters of this sort was exemplified in another way by his correspondence with Edmund Burke. The English statesman had been appointed Colonial Agent for both the State and the city upon the death of Robert Charles, the former incumbent. Livingston was the chairman of the special committee which conducted the official correspondence with the agency, and

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in fact wrote himself, it is said, many of the letters which passed from New York to London. These were models which were long held up for admiration in the eighteenth century. Excellent from a literary point of view, they were marked also by a wonderful and accurate knowledge of facts, a grasp of legal and commercial principles, and a breadth of judgment which amounted to practical statesmanship. Burke recognized the strong personality on the other side of the ocean and put these letters by, as authoritative literature on all matters pertaining to the new world. They were, indeed, a series of lectures more thorough and complete than any publications to be had upon the subject. They gave Burke the information, whose vast extent astonished his admirers in Parliament and enabled him to disprove and even annihilate arguments adduced by the British Ministry. He generously gave credit to his American correspondent in the premises.

In 1764, Livingston drew the address to Lieutenant-Governor Cadwallader Colden in which he used language so outspoken in regard to Colonial freedom and royal taxation that several Tories pronounced the document treasonable. The following year he was sent as a delegate from New York to the Colonial, better known as the Stamp Act Congress. Only nine Colonies were represented in this body, the Governors of Virginia, North Carolina and Georgia refusing to call special Assemblies for what they regarded as improper and unconstitutional purposes. The fourth absentee Colony, New Hampshire, regarded it as imprudent to send delegates, but forwarded a dispatch

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in which they declared their sympathies with the movement, and promising to stand by all that was done.

New York sent Livingston as a delegate to the First Continental Congress which met in Philadelphia, September 5, 1774. The City of Brotherly Love in that era was not two hours distant from New York. The voyage was a memorable event, and on this occasion it was made a gala affair by the patriotic citizens of the little Metropolis. The people turned out *en masse* with flags flying and music playing to escort their delegates to the wharves from which they set sail for Amboy. Livingston, accompanied by James Duane and John Alsop, walked down Broad street to the foot of that thoroughfare, and there embarked upon a ferryboat. From house to wharf the delegates were accompanied with an enthusiastic throng which increased at every step until it was a solid army of cheering men and applauding women. When they reached the Exchange the street was blocked and the crowd called for a speech. Alsop thanked the people in a short but forceful address and promised that he and his colleagues would leave no stone unturned to bring back happiness to the colony.

At the wharf there was another demonstration and Livingston replied with eloquence and power. As the boat cast off the people cheered madly and gave a salvo of artillery from some field pieces which they had borrowed for the occasion. The leaders of the procession then adjourned to St. George's Tavern where they drank confusion to the British Ministry and health and success to their delegates. Dame Rumor says that Livingston, Alsop and Duane had

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left five pounds with the landlord to supply the wants of those who were too poor to buy their own beverages.

The Congress, though brief, voiced in its proceedings the sentiments of the thirteen commonwealths. It approved the opposition of Massachusetts to the enforcement of the tyrannical laws which had been passed respecting that colony. It adopted a declaration of rights in which it asked the repeal of the eleven enactments which had created the troubles between the Mother country and themselves. It unanimously resolved to import no merchandise from Great Britain after the first day of the ensuing December, unless the colonial grievances were redressed. It appointed a Committee, on which was Philip Livingston, to prepare an address to the people of Great Britain. It closed on October 26th with a Petition to the King for justice, which like the appeal to Pharaoh merely hardened the heart of that unjust monarch. And then as if to give warning of more important action thereafter, it made all the arrangements for the holding of a new Congress the next May.

The following spring a Provincial convention was held in New York city, which appointed delegates to the Second Continental Congress. The new delegation had a stronger personnel than its predecessor, and foremost in its ranks was Philip Livingston. In addition to these honors, it should be remembered at this point that Livingston had also been a member of the Committee of Fifty, and thereafter of the Committee of Sixty, better known as the Committee of Observation.

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The following year the Continental Congress passed the Declaration of Independence, and on the fifteenth day of July such delegates as had not gone to their various posts of duty signed that immortal instrument. Of the New York delegation but four had remained at Philadelphia and of these Philip Livingston was one. His signing was a fitting climax to the arduous labor he had performed for popular rights and liberties. Overwork had broken down his health and in 1775 and 1776 he suffered constantly from dropsy and cardiac troubles. It was against the advice of his physician and the entreaties of those near and dear to him that he had gone to Philadelphia, White Plains and other places where political duty called him. There was something singularly heroic in this man braving risk and danger and leaving a great business and a happy and beautiful home to take part in exciting scenes where death was liable to come to him at a moment's notice. It required a deeper courage than that of the soldier who goes into battle under the fierce excitement of war's display. Congress appreciated the man's mercantile talents by appointing him a member of the Board of Treasury, and the following year a member of the Marine Committee. He worked steadfastly in both committees as well as in Congress, found time to attend to other duties in New York, and was a member of the association formed to carry out the commercial boycott against Great Britain.

Of the Provincial Congress and the Assembly, he was a distinguished member, and in 1777, under the new State constitution was elected a State Senator from New York



## PHILIP LIVINGSTON

city. At these various conventions, where he was so conspicuous a figure, he must have felt the highest kind of family pride and joy upon realizing the superb strength of the race to which he belonged. Every roll call was almost a roster of his race. From Albany county in the North came Peter R. and Walter; from Dutchess, Gilbert, James, Robert R., and Robert R. II; from New York, Peter Van Brugh and himself. These were visible to his eye, while in his mind's eye rose the stalwart forms of twenty younger men of his race ready to come forward and take the places of their elders, the moment duty called them. Across in Jersey was the dauntless William Livingston, who was to be the war governor of that State, while from New York to Albany were thirty nephews and cousins on the maternal side of the house, who were as patriotic and dauntless as those of his own name.

This feeling of pride must have offset the consciousness that his hours were numbered and that at any moment he was liable to pass away. At Philadelphia, during the memorable debate that preceded the Declaration of Independence he was so overcome by the heat and excitement that for several days he had to be helped in and out of the hall. After he had signed the document, he shook hands with his Congressional colleagues, telling them it was for the last time and then added, "But I pray that I get to New York and do a little more for the cause, before I am called."

In May, he left home to attend to his official duties knowing that he was on the verge of another world. Dis-

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ease had made such progress that his life was a question of days, if not of hours. Foreseeing the end he wrote his people a valedictory letter in which he said that he would never see them again and that much as he desired to die in his own home, he must blot out all desires for the sake of the public good.

He expired on June 12th, with none of his kindred near him, excepting his son Henry, then eighteen years of age, who was serving as a secretary-clerk to General George Washington.

Congress honored him in death by appropriate obsequies, and by going into mourning for one month. It passed resolutions of respect and gratitude, which have been forgotten. His life's work and his consecration to the American people were and will be his epitaph.

## ROGER SHERMAN

*Born, April 19, 1721; Died, July 23, 1793.*

**F**ROM a cottage where poverty was his co-tenant, led by a clear intellect and a spirit of the noblest rectitude to a pedestal in the hall of fame, is in brief the life record of Roger Sherman, Signer of the Declaration of Independence. He came of an English family of Dedham, Essex county, England, which sent its strongest offspring to the New World and in the male line became extinct in its old home. It thrived in the colonies and thereafter the Republic, and added many great names to American history. Among warriors, it produced General William Tecumseh Sherman; among statesmen, Senator John Sherman, and on the female side Senators William M. Evarts and George Frisbie Hoar.

But its first and perhaps greatest name is that of the Signer of the Declaration. Roger's father was a farmer to whom fortune was not overkind in her favors. The returns of his farm at Stoughton, Mass., being small he eked out his income by shoemaking. The boy farmed and made shoes like his father before him. He attended the little country school of his district, where he learned all that was taught, but this was the smallest part of his education. His leisure time, he devoted to study. Insatiable book-hunger consumed him. He burned the midnight oil

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constantly and had an open book in front of him while pegging and sewing boots. When a mere child, he won the friendship of the Rev. Samuel Dunbar, the minister of the congregation to which his family belonged. This acquaintanceship was of value, as the good divine aided him in his studies and allowed him the run of a well-stocked library. With no other help than this, the youth became proficient in geography, history, mathematics, astronomy, surveying, logic, law, and politics. He does not seem at this time to have cared for either fiction or poetry. When he was twenty-two years of age the Sherman family removed to Milford, Connecticut, where Roger worked on the cobbler's bench until he secured employment as a surveyor. Two years afterwards he was appointed surveyor of lands for the county of New Haven, which position he held for that county for five years, and thereafter for Litchfield county until 1758.

He was a rapid and accurate worker and soon made for himself an excellent professional reputation. Foreseeing the growth of that part of the colony, he utilized his leisure time in real estate speculation, which proved as profitable as his surveying. His popularity ere long began to tell. Office was offered to him and accepted, and from 1748 he was a conspicuous figure in town affairs.

Between this year and 1761, he seems to have held nearly every elective and appointive office within the gift of his town. The churches of the neighborhood utilized his business ability by making him a committeeman in every affair which required energy, intelligence and probity. His in-

## ROGER SHERMAN

terest in public questions was broad and not confined to his own personal business. He was foremost in matters of public relief, and was one of the earliest advocates of vaccination, which he introduced into New Milford.

When his brother William desired to increase his business, he advanced the requisite capital and became a partner until the former's death and then the sole owner. His management was very profitable, but on account of the pressure of other matters in 1760, he sold out. In 1752, a new phase of his character was brought into notice in the form of a pamphlet upon the currency question in which he gave a clear and philosophic exposition of the laws of credit and financial exchange. He had already made a name for himself as an almanac maker, the first of these productions having appeared in 1750. He seems to have performed the mathematical work for the Ames Almanac as would appear from a letter to Nathaniel Ames.

NEW MILFORD, *July 14, 1753.*

SE:—I received your letter this day and return you thanks for the papers you sent inclosed. I find that there was a considerable mistake in the calculation of the two lunar eclipses, which I sent to you in my last letter, which was occasioned by my mistake in taking out the mean motion of the sun for the radical year, and I have now sent inclosed (them) with the rest of the eclipses as I have since calculated them for the meridian of New London, which I reckon 4 hours and 52 min. west from London—I have also sent one of my Almanacks. I expect to go to

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New Haven in August next and I will enquire of Mr. Clap about the comet you mentioned and will write to you what intelligence I can get from him about it the first opportunity—I am, Sr, your very

humble servt,

ROGER SHERMAN.

This letter is an invisible picture of the man's wonderful growth. The poor young cobbler had at the age of thirty-two achieved name, fame and competence. The communication in style, contents and power of thought is equal to the best production of a Harvard or Yale professor of the time. During this period he had begun to enlarge his mental horizon and to take up the study of poetry. The quotations in his almanacs show that he preferred the works of Milton, Young, Dryden, Pope, Prior, Herbert and Denham. He had also continued his study of the law, and had made such progress that upon the advice of several legal friends he applied for admission to the bar, and to his surprise and delight passed the examination with flying colors.

Admitted in February, 1754, within a year he had done so well that the General Assembly appointed him a Justice of the Peace. His progress in his new calling was like that in his other vocations. In 1759, he was made Justice of the Quorum, and *ipso facto*, a member of the Court of Common Pleas. He was growing too large for the town, and in May, 1755, the people elected him to the General Assembly, of which body he was a member off and on

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until 1761. At forty years of age, the butterfly emerged from the chrysalis, and Roger Sherman removed from New Milford to New Haven.

He had come to New Milford poor and unknown, he went away wealthy, full-powered, distinguished and beloved. In his new home, he astonished everyone by giving up law and engaging in mercantile pursuits. To these he devoted eleven years of his life, and then consigned the business to his son William. Into commerce, he brought the wide knowledge and trained intellect which were characteristic of the man. He not alone supplied the community with staples but he built up new lines of trade, where he knew a supply would engender an ensuing demand. Before that time, there was no regular book business in New Haven although Yale College was then a prominent feature of town life. Sherman kept a full line of standard books, in addition to which, he imported the latest publications from New York and Boston, London and Paris. His enterprise was a seven days' wonder and made his store the headquarters of the literary and collegiate elements of the place. According to the common people, he knew more about books than either the professors or the college librarian. The bar and the bench kept up their friendship with him as did the legislators and officials. In this way, he became the centre of a social circle of great power and extent.

The moment he reached New Haven, Yale College called upon him for a donation. He promptly subscribed one of the largest gifts of the year. He did other favors for the

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institution which determined to add him to their administrative force. Elected treasurer of the College in 1765, he discharged the duties of that office with great ability for eleven years. His treasurership must have given great satisfaction, because in 1768 the College conferred upon him the honorary degree of Master of Arts.

His popularity was not confined to the College. The year he became treasurer he was made Justice of the Peace for New Haven county, and Justice of the Quorum. The following year promotion awaited him in an appointment to a judgeship of the Superior Court, where he dispensed justice for twenty-three years, when he resigned to take a seat in the First Congress of the United States under the present Constitution.

When the questions came into being which were to culminate in the American Revolution, Sherman was outspoken in his advocacy of colonial rights. In New England, James Otis was regarded as a radical leader, and when his pamphlet, "The Rights of the British Colonies" appeared in 1764 it was hailed by most readers as the very voice of patriotism, but the stern Puritan nature of Sherman went farther than the fiery impulses of the Massachusetts lawyer.

"It was a good paper," quoth he, "but from a logical point of view it concedes to the British Parliament too much power over the Colonies."

The position taken by Sherman at that time is the keynote of his attitude and conduct to the end of his life. He had neither fear nor respect for a form of government



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whose only claim to authority was time-honored precedent. He believed in liberty, order, justice and right, and for these he was willing to sacrifice wealth, home, personal liberty and even life itself. If he loved liberty, he hated license. Equal with freedom in his eyes were law and order. The excesses of the "Sons of Liberty" were denounced by him with as much force and temper as by any royalist. His opinions were summed up in his own quaint way in a letter, he wrote to Matthew Griswold.

"SIR: I hope you will excuse the freedom which I take of mentioning, for your consideration, some things which appear to me a little extraordinary, and which I fear (if persisted in) may be prejudicial to the interest of the Colony—more especially the late practice of great numbers of people assembling and assuming a kind of legislative authority, passing and publishing resolves and &c—will not the frequent assembling such bodies of people, without any laws to regulate or govern their proceedings, tend to weaken the authority of the government, and naturally possess the minds of the people with such lax notions of civil authority as may lead to such disorders and confusion as will not be easily suppressed or reformed? especially in such a popular government as ours, for the well ordering of which good rules, and a wise, steady administration are necessary."

When the Colonial merchants made their non-importation agreement Sherman was the active member of the New Haven committee appointed to secure its enforcement.

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This body sent out a letter which became famous throughout the land, the first clause being quoted and requoted for more than a generation. It was as follows:

“NEW HAVEN, *July 26, 1770.*

“GENT:

“The time has now come for us whether we will be free-men or slaves.” \* \* \*

Sherman's attitude in these exciting years was the same as that of John Adams. It is well summed up in his letter to Thomas Cushing of Boston, wherein Sherman writes, “It is a fundamental principle in the British constitution, and I think must be in every free state, that no laws bind the people but such as they consent to be governed by, therefore, so far as the people of the Colonies are bound by laws made without their consent, they must be in a state of slavery or absolute subjection to the will of others: if this right belongs to the people of the Colonies, why should they not claim it and enjoy it. If it does not belong to them as well as to their fellow subjects in Great Britain, how came they to be deprived of it?”

To the British Ministry this was treason absolute, and as a matter of fact it rather startled many of the patriotic Colonials themselves. Most of the leaders of that time, including such men as James Otis, Samuel Adams, John Dickinson and Philip Livingston, believed that Parliament had the right to bind the Colonies by regulations of commerce to an almost unlimited extent. The three great exceptions in the Colonies were Roger Sherman of Connecti-



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*From a painting by Ralph Earle, owned by Roger Sherman  
White, great-grandson, New Haven*



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cut, John Adams of Massachusetts, and Thomas Jefferson of Virginia.

At the First Continental Congress in Philadelphia, Connecticut was represented by Eliphalet Dyer, Roger Sherman, and Silas Deane. Dyer and Sherman were appointed upon the Committee on the Declaration of rights. Here again arose the old question respecting the right of Parliament to regulate trade. Five colonies conceded it, five denied it, and two were divided. As a whole the Committee stood six colonies against six. Upon every vote taken by that body Sherman's name was to be found upon the side of liberty.

At the second Congress, in 1775, Sherman, Dyer and Deane again represented Connecticut. When it came to the appointment of Washington as Commander-in-chief, Sherman did not manifest the tact of Samuel Adams. He was opposed to Washington (whom personally he admired greatly) because the army besieging the British garrison in Boston was all from New England, had its own general, whom it loved and had manifested its ability to check the English arms at that point. But when it came to the ballot Sherman realized the wisdom of Adams's idea and cast his vote for Washington.

During this year, Sherman never wearied in preparing Connecticut for the coming fray. In addition to his patriotism, he had a personal interest in the matter because with his consent his son Isaac, then a young man of twenty-two, had entered the Continental Army in Massachusetts. The youth had already made a good record, and the father

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with as much paternal pride as patriotism aided his son in making the latter's company one of the most efficient in the Colonial forces around Boston. From the correspondence between the two it is easy to infer that in the fall of 1775, Roger furnished Isaac "with a genteel hanger, a yard and a half of superfine scarlet broadcloth with suitable trimmings for a coat of uniform and a piece of Holland."

In 1776, he appears to have been one of the most active men in Congress. There seems scarcely to have been a Committee of importance but of which he was a member. In the debate upon the basis of representation there were many schools of thought. Some believed that it should be population, others wealth, and still others favored the State as a unit. Sherman, with wisdom and foresight, advocated a compromise plan which eleven years later, he suggested at the Constitutional convention, and was adopted by that body, whereby representation should have a double basis, first the Colonies as units, and second the people as individuals.

In all measures there should be a majority of each to make any bill law. As he wisely pointed out, if the basis were wealth it would enable the rich colonies to dominate the poor ones. If it were mere numbers two or three large colonies would shut out all the small ones. If the colonies were to be used as units, the smallest, poorest and least numerous might offset and control the largest, most populous and powerful.

His services during the Revolution were marked by patri-

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otism and wisdom. In the dispute which arose between New Hampshire and New York, which concerned the territory (that afterwards became Vermont), Sherman took a bold stand for the settlers rather than for the litigants. Upon the currency question, he opposed fiat money as far as possible and tried to introduce business principles into government affairs.

In 1783, he and Judge Richard Law codified the statutes of Connecticut, their work being adopted by the General Assembly the following year. The same year he urged the necessity of an impost tax for the support of the general government.

At this time (1784) he was elected Mayor of New Haven. In the meantime, the Union had been going from bad to worse. The confederacy which had been formed proved but the shadow of a national body; anarchy was beginning to stare each colony in the face. Every thinking man realized the necessity of a complete change in the political system. In this movement, for which the nation owes more to Alexander Hamilton than to any other man, Sherman was a faithful worker. He endeavored to have Connecticut represented in the Federal convention of 1786, but his commonwealth proved apathetic.

That year, Hamilton made his famous appeal, which sounded like a bugle call to every lover of liberty. The States awoke to the necessity of the hour and the Constitutional convention of 1787 was a triumphant success. With Sherman were William Samuel Johnson, and Oliver Ellsworth. It was one of the most memorable bodies that

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ever came together in the history of the New World. The great figures were Benjamin Franklin, then eighty-one years of age, and George Washington, the hero of a Continent; of the delegates a majority had been staunch and faithful members of the Continental Congress; whilst three had attended the Colonial or Stamp Act Congress of 1765, —Johnson, Rutledge and Dickinson. Here, too, was Hamilton, one of the youngest of the gathering, and yet already looked up to as one of the rising statesmen of the land. Party tendencies were in existence, but party lines had not been formed. The convention was really divided into three great schools or classes. One believed in a strong national government and was led by Hamilton, Gouverneur Morris, James Madison and James Wilson.

The second favored a Confederacy, and was led by William Paterson, John Lansing and Luther Martin. The third was the compromise school, which leaned toward the Nationalists rather than the Confederates. This was led by Sherman, Franklin, Ellsworth and Dickinson. The convention lasted from May 30th to September 17th, and was the scene of as brilliant, erudite, and philosophic debate and discussion as the world has ever known. The year before the case of the Colonies appeared to be hopeless, but the crisis had brought forth the strength and the men. Out of the throes of necessity the Constitution had been born, and now that one hundred and fifteen years have passed away its wisdom and extraordinary efficiency have been demonstrated to the admiration of mankind.

His work finished in the Federal Convention, Sherman



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returned to Connecticut, where he was elected to the State Convention and there led the forces which ratified the Constitution. His work in reorganizing the nation was appreciated by the people of Connecticut, who elected him to the first House of Representatives under the new Constitution. In 1791, two years later, his State made him Senator, and while holding that office, he passed away.

But for his broad tolerance, Sherman would have been a typical Puritan; but for the wisdom gained from poverty, suffering and self sacrifice, he would have been harsh and severe in judgment; but for the long struggle through which he grew into a great manhood, he would have been bigoted and a doctrinaire. His was the very intensity of seriousness. He had no dislike for the trivialities or frivolities of life, but simply no time for them. He had a magnetic power which made every one as serious and energetic as himself. Had he gone to a dance, he would have had every dancer sitting down with a school book in fifteen minutes. Had he joined a social club, he would have converted it into a philosophical society within a fortnight.

He suggests Cromwell without the latter's tremendous military genius, and Milton, divorced from the muse. Jefferson remarked of Sherman that "he never said a foolish thing." His imperturbability was that of an ideal self-control and not of that cheaper and commoner kind which means apathy or deficient vitality. He was an intellectual engine which moved along the lines of an absolute probity. A builder of the Republic was he in every respect, and a man who has stamped his individuality upon the national

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life. But his name will never quicken the beat of the heart nor excite the loving smile which greets a Hamilton, Schuyler, Lee, Franklin, Washington or Jefferson. Of the brightness and joy of life, he saw little or nothing. Twice married, he proved himself a good husband, and a strict but loving father. By his second wife, Elizabeth Hartwell, he had seven children, four sons and three daughters. Three of the boys were officers in the Revolutionary army, and proved brave and faithful soldiers.

No better summary of his career can be given than the inscription upon the tablet which marks his resting place.

“ IN MEMORY OF  
THE HON. ROGER SHERMAN, ESQ.  
*Mayor of the City of New Haven,*  
*And Senator of the United States.*

HE WAS BORN AT NEWTOWN IN MASSACHUSETTS,  
APRIL 19, 1721.

AND DIED IN NEW HAVEN, JULY 23RD A. D. 1793,  
AGED LXXII.

Possessed of a strong, clear, penetrating mind, and  
singular perseverance,

He became the self-taught scholar, eminent for juris-  
prudence and policy.

He was nineteen years an assistant, and twenty-three years  
a judge of the Superior Court, in high reputation.

He was a delegate in the first Congress,  
signed the glorious act of Independence,  
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And many years displayed superior talents and ability in  
the national legislature.

He was a member of the general convention, approved the  
federal constitution, and served his country with  
fidelity and honor, in the House of Rep-  
sentatives, and in the Senate  
of the United States.

He was a man of approved integrity; a cool discerning  
Judge; a prudent sagacious politician; a true  
faithful and firm patriot.

He ever adorned the profession of Christianity which he  
made in youth;

And, distinguished through life for public usefulness,  
Died in the prospect of a blessed immortality."

## PHILIP JOHN SCHUYLER

*Born, November 22, 1733; Died, November 18, 1804.*

THE strain and pressure of great crises are so intense as to consume if not exhaust the vitality of the actors involved therein. Nearly all the great characters of history have been marked by stern and serious faces, as if to them life had had no bright and poetic side. At times, however, appears a man who plays his part in the drama of history as Mercutio in "Romeo and Juliet" bringing life and light with him whenever he comes upon the boards. The Mercutio of the Revolution was Philip John Schuyler, who belonged to one of the first Knickerbocker families of the State of New York.

In the middle of the seventeenth century, his ancestor, Philip Pietersen Van Schuyler crossed the ocean from Holland and settled at what is now Albany. Generation after generation passed in which the family burgeoned in importance, influence and strength. They supplied the Colonies with faithful soldiers, efficient officials, public-spirited citizens and philanthropic church-workers. In Philip, the virtues of the family were united in one personality. His education was the best which his environment permitted, he receiving his primary instruction at home from his mother, who was Cornelia Van Cortlandt, a woman of intellectual force, his secondary education at a celebrated Hugue-

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not school of that period in New Rochelle, kept by the Rev. Dr. Steuppe (Stoupe). Here young Schuyler made phenomenal progress through very unpleasant causes. He was attacked by the gout, which according to his own declaration, was an inheritance from his grandfather, and confined to his room for a year and more. During this period of enforced retirement his only solace was study. His books deadened the pain and helped bring about convalescence. In leisure hours he occupied an easy chair in the sitting-room, where he conversed in French with Mrs. Steuppe and the domestics. In this way he acquired a colloquial as well as a literary knowledge of French, which proved invaluable to him in after life. He had already learned Dutch, and in school took a thorough course in Latin, so that by the time he was nineteen, he was as accomplished a linguist as any of the bright young men of Albany.

He was popular in the society of his town, of which one portion was quite cultured and accomplished. This was the set to which belonged the Van Rensselaers, Van Cortlandts, Livingstons, Ten Broecks and Schuylers. The difference between this group of families and their neighbors was in the education of the daughters. The majority of the well-to-do people brought up their girls according to the "three k's" of the German Emperor, "koeche, kirche, and kinder" (cooking, churching, and children). The families mentioned taught their daughters French, singing, dancing, and a fair knowledge of literature. Young Schuyler fell promptly in love with Catherine Van Rens-

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selaer, whose character may be inferred from the nickname "The Morning Star," by which she was everywhere known. The course of true love ran smoothly as may be seen in the family Bible of the Schuylers, where in General Philip's own handwriting is this entry.

"In the year 1755, on the 17th of September, was I, Philip John Schuyler, married (in the 21st year, 9th month and 17th day of his age) to Catherine Van Rensselaer, aged 20 years, 9 months and 27 days. May we live in Peace and to the Glory of God."

This entry is eloquent to the student of Knickerbocker times. It is written in the best English of the time, which was a rare event in Albany, where the old families in their records used Dutch altogether or Dutch words and phrases. The young husband had already outgrown the provincialism which marked Albany life. The reference to the bride is in the modern style and not the ancient. He recognized her as his equal and helpmeet and did not view her as housewifery as was too often the custom of the time. The little prayer at the end tells volumes of the sweetness and sincerity of the writer's character.

This year he raised a company of volunteers, and as a reward for his public service received a commission as Captain. When scarcely more than organized his company went to the front and served under its young leader in the campaigns of 1755 and 1756 in the French war. Here to the delight of his people young Schuyler displayed gallantry, strategic talent, military skill, and what doubtless endeared him more than the rest, an ease and gentleness

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which won every heart. In 1758, he became Deputy-Commissary under General Bradstreet, with the rank of Major. In this branch of the service he displayed so much talent in his accounts that he was selected as his Commander's agent at the close of the war to go to England and settle up the books with the home government. This was done quickly and satisfactorily. He returned bearing with him a letter of appreciation from the British war office. Upon the conclusion of peace between England and France he retired from military life and took energetic hold of his own affairs.

From this point up to the Revolution, he was essentially a man of business, and displayed an energy and judgment of a high type. He erected improved saw-mills on his timber lands and established a transportation line between Albany and New York, and was thus enabled to sell timber direct from the forest to the builder in the Metropolis. Avoiding the profits which usually went to speculators, middlemen and ship captains, he was able to obtain an extraordinary return of profit upon his ventures. This he applied to the improvement of his estate, drainage of marshes, laying of roads, the building of piers and the establishment of farms for tenants.

Finding that a large tract of territory on his estate was suitable for flax-culture he went into this industry and erected a flax-mill, the first of its kind in the colonies. He secured hecklers, limers, spinners and weavers, some from the neighborhood and others from Holland, so that ere long he had his new industry upon a paying basis. He

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encouraged ship building and became a part owner in many crafts, thus helping ambitious young captains and at the same time reaping a fair reward for his enterprise.

He entertained with generosity but wisdom. Both he and his wife regarded themselves as trustees for their children, and after that for the poor and afflicted of their district. His views in these matters were expressed by himself twenty-one years afterward, when he transferred his estate at Saratoga to his oldest son, who had then come of age. In the deed he says: "I resign to your care and for your sole emolument a place on which for a Series of years I have bestowed much of my care and attention, and I confess I should part from it with many a severe pang did I not resign it to my child."

In the management of his estate his accounts showed that the profits or net income of his property were divided into four parts, one for entertainment or "the social duties;" second, the improvement of the estate; third, charity and the church, and fourth, the increase of the estate. Under such a system as might be expected, his interests in northern New York grew from year to year as did those of his tenants and employees. His example was more or less contagious and incited his neighbors and friends to similar lines of conduct. During this period the Albany district was very prosperous, and both travel and traffic increased between that city and New York.

His reputation for general ability and rectitude had gone abroad so that when the Twenty-ninth General Assembly took up the question of the boundary line between



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New York and Massachusetts Bay, and later between New York and New Hampshire, it chose him as a Commissioner. The unpleasant duties involved were performed by him with such tact as to win approval from all three of the commonwealths involved. Shortly after this, he was made Colonel of Militia, and in 1768 was elected a member of the Thirtieth General Assembly. Up to this moment he had not taken an active part in the discussions then going on respecting colonial and coronal rights. Many patriots were a little afraid of this wealthy and talented aristocrat, fearing that his influence in the legislature would be cast against the people and for the Crown. Their fears were short-lived. Upon the very first question he took strong ground for popular rights and at the same time showed himself to be a good speaker, a shrewd parliamentarian and the possessor of great personal magnetism. It was upon his nomination, two years later, that Edmund Burke was made Colonial agent of New York at the British capital.

This and other actions of Schuyler and the Assembly were too much for the patience of the British authorities. While the twenty-ninth Assembly had lasted seven years, the Thirtieth, which besides Schuyler contained Philip Livingston, George Clinton, and other patriots, was dissolved in less than three months after it had convened. The dissolution did not change public sentiment. At the following election Schuyler was re-elected, as were Philip Livingston, George Clinton, and with them Lewis Morris and Robert R. Livingston. The Governor's Secretary, on hear-

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ing of the personnel of the new Assembly, remarked "that the fish had leaped from the frying-pan into the fire."

Schuyler's house now became the headquarters of the patriot leaders in northern New York. He kept in touch with current events and received by mail papers from London, Boston, New York and Philadelphia, as well as correspondence from the friends he had been making since youth. Contemporaries speak of meeting there in the afternoon and evening and sitting around while the Colonel read to them the most interesting tidings he had received by the last mail. Before 1772 he was the acknowledged patriot leader of his district.

He was to have been a delegate to the First Continental Congress in 1774, but was prevented by illness. Of the Second he was chosen a member, and while there, was a member of the Committee with George Washington, which drew up the military code for the Colonial army. Upon the recommendation of the New York Provincial Congress, where in the speech nominating him he was declared to be one of the ablest and bravest soldiers in New York, he was appointed one of the four Major Generals that were made by the Continental Congress. On his return from Philadelphia, he perpetrated a joke which might have cost him dearly.

Clad in the handsome uniform of blue and buff, he made an official call upon Governor William Tryon, who resided upon Broad street, New York, and sent in his card "Major General Philip Schuyler of the Continental Army." But for the presence in the city of a large military force which



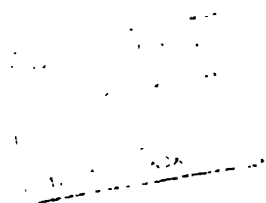
**GEN'L PHILIP SCHUYLER**

*From a painting by Trumbull, owned by  
Philip Schuyler, great-grandson,  
New York*



**MRS. GEN'L PHILIP SCHUYLER**

*From a painting in possession of Philip  
Schuyler, great-grandson,  
New York*



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was there to receive him and Washington, it is probable that the Governor would have ordered his arrest. Under the circumstances discretion was the better part of valor. The Governor returned the card with the curt remark:

“General Schuyler? I know no such person,” and declined peremptorily to see his caller.

Washington assigned him to the Department of Northern New York, where he took up the arduous task of collecting an army and making it ready for active duty. The work was herculean. Neither the Continental nor the Provincial Congress had much money nor credit. Though Schuyler, by indefatigable labor, raised all the men necessary under his instructions, the arms and ammunition came irregularly, so that fully a year passed by before his men were ready for active duty. Generous and patriotic, he drew upon his own resources, and at least one regiment was armed and uniformed at his own expense. Beyond this he sold the government, food supplies and other material, trusting to the eventual success of the American cause for his reimbursement. During this year he worked so hard as to break down completely. He was compelled to relinquish his command to General Montgomery and return home to regain his health.

His convalescence was quick, and he returned to Albany, where he took up the work of organization and supply with all his former energy. He was dissatisfied with the manner in which many of the officers performed their duty and spoke sharply whenever he regarded it as necessary. In

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this way, he antagonized many, who made a cabal against him and had Congress take away or deprive him of his power by placing General John Thomas in command of the army and making Schuyler, Quarter-Master-General and Commissary-General. As a matter of rank and title, no change was involved, but he saw clearly what the order meant and was grieved at the ingratitude displayed by the national leaders. To make matters worse he soon found himself in opposition to the military plans of Congress.

They favored an invasion of Canada from New York State, and in default of this the maintenance of a large army far up on the frontier. Schuyler, who knew the country better than any man at the capital, and realized the pitiful poverty of the government, saw that this was impossible and expressed himself accordingly. Unfortunately for all parties the Congressional leaders were thick-headed and persisted in keeping Thomas on the Canadian lines. Ere long, events proved the correctness of Schuyler's position. A British Army under Burgoyne appeared in the North, and Thomas and his men were compelled to fall back precipitously. Thomas himself contracted the small-pox and died of that disease.

Through political influence, Congress now gave command of the northern army to Major-General Horatio Gates, without notifying Schuyler of the fact. Intentionally or not, this was a direct insult to the great New Yorker, who would have been justified in throwing up his Commission and retiring to private life. As it was, he stifled his indignation and agreed to co-operate with Gates

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until the issue had been passed upon by General Washington. The latter with consummate tact recommended the two men to act in harmony with each other, which they accordingly did. Gates, always a marplot, shortly after this began an intrigue for the removal of Schuyler, at the time the latter was busy in negotiating with the Six Nations, who it was feared might take the field against the Colonies, and also in fitting out an armed flotilla upon Lake Champlain. Thus, while Schuyler was working day and night for the defense of his land, Gates was doing naught save conspire against Schuyler, whom he regarded as an obstacle to his ambitions. News of the plot was sent to Schuyler by his friends in Philadelphia, and he immediately offered his resignation, determining to test by this vital expedient how far the Government of the Colonies was actuated by principle or the whims of politicians. To the credit of Congress it declined to accept his resignation and declared that his services were indispensable. The President, John Hancock, went out of his way to make a personal request that the New York general would continue at the helm.

To increase his difficulties, his health which had been precarious now became so poor that for days at a time, he was scarcely able to do his work. The people of New York appreciated the pathos of his position, and in 1777 elected him a Member of the Continental Congress. The same year he was appointed Chief of the Military forces of Pennsylvania. Washington poured oil upon his wounds by giving him command of the Northern Department.

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Again Congress interfered, and through the machinations of the New England politicians, made Gates the Commander-in-Chief of the Northern Army, Washington having declined to act in the matter. In October a Court-Martial was convened, before which the false and malicious charges of Gates were brought forward and thoroughly investigated. The court unanimously adjudged Schuyler had not been guilty of any neglect of duty and acquitted him with the highest honors. The verdict which should have been taken up by Congress immediately was held back several months by Gates's political allies and then was made a finding of the Government.

The month of the trial New York elected him again to Congress, but he refused to take his seat until the judgment of the Court-Martial had been confirmed by the House. When this was done, he assumed his legislative duties and worked faithfully as a Congressman until 1781. Nevertheless he resigned his commission in the Army in 1779.

Beside attending to his duties at the Capital, he acted as Indian Commissioner for New York, and kept the Six Nations on friendly terms with the Continentals. In 1779, at the request of Washington, he was appointed a Commissioner to confer with the latter on the Southern Department of the Army, and from that time until the surrender of Cornwallis he was one of Washington's most trusted counselors. In these dark hours, when Congress appeared to be a mass of ingratitude, folly and intrigue, Schuyler must have been happy in the magnificent support accorded him



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by his own State. No sound came from Albany or New York but words of affection and praise. His people knew him and loved him. They were with him to the end. Honors they showered upon him thick and fast. He was their Indian Commissioner and their Congressman, and in addition they made him State Senator for the western district of New York, to which office they elected him four consecutive times.

It made no difference to his constituents whether he could attend or not. They elected him not to legislate, but to show their confidence and affection. In fact they contracted the Schuyler habit and kept sending him to the Senate for many years afterwards. He was there from 1786 until 1790, and again from 1792 until 1797, and probably had he wanted it he could have been Senator for life with reversion to his oldest son. He and Rufus King were the first Senators chosen by New York under the present constitution. A second time he was made a national Senator in 1797.

Besides being a great soldier, he was a statesman of no mean rank. He was the first to perceive the benefit of a canal connecting the Hudson river with Lake Champlain, and in 1776 spent a week making a rough draft of the route and a table of estimated cost. The present canal was built upon almost the very lines which he figured out, and the actual cost, allowing for the difference in money values, was within twenty-five per cent of his original estimate. The man's foresight may be measured by the fact that in speaking of this canal he said that it would enable the

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lumbermen of the North to ship their timber to tide water and to receive from New York the necessities of life at one half of the expense which it then involved, and that in the event of war it could be used as a waterway for small ocean corvettes and sloops to go from Sandy Hook up to the Canadian border.

After the Revolution, he advocated a canal from the Hudson to Lake Erie, with a branch connecting with Lake Ontario, and upon this matter talked with Christopher Colles, the mad inventor, with Governor George Clinton, and with President Washington. He was one of the group of philanthropists which founded Union College, and in 1784 was among the first contributors to its building fund. The project would have fallen through but for his energy and zeal. After the nucleus of an endowment had been secured the project languished some years. He then made personal appeals to his friends and thus obtained the necessary funds which enabled the institution to begin its life in 1795. With praiseworthy generosity he attached no conditions to his gifts, nor did he attempt to give the new school any sectarian bias whatever.

In political life he was a Federalist sincere, though liberal. He was a member of the New York triumvirate, the other two members being Hamilton and Jay. Unlike his colleagues, his personality did not arouse the adverse criticism theirs received.

No man did more for the foundation of the American Republic than Philip Schuyler, and none was more ungenerously treated by his own age. Not until after his death

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did the American people come to appreciate the beauty and majesty of his character. Webster said that of all the Generals of the Revolution, Schuyler was second only to Washington.

Chancellor Kent, with the dignity befitting one of his own great judgments, wrote: "Among the patriots of the American Revolution who asserted the rights of their country in council, and equally vindicated its cause in the field, the name of Philip Schuyler stands preeminent. In acuteness of intellect, profound thought, indefatigable activity, exhaustless energy, pure patriotism and persevering and intrepid public efforts, he had no superior."

John Fiske the historian casts his vote as follows:

"The intrigues which soon after (1776-7) disgraced the Northern Army and imperilled the safety of the country, had already begun to bear bitter fruit. Since the beginning of the war, Major-General Philip Schuyler had been in command of the Northern department, with his headquarters at Albany, whence his ancestors had a century before hurled defiance at Frontenac. His family was one of the most distinguished in New York, and an inherited zeal for the public service thrilled in every drop of his blood. No more upright or disinterested man could be found in America, and for bravery and generosity he was like the paladin of some mediaeval romance."

Oftentimes indirection paints a stronger picture than direct assertion and description. To him who can read between the lines there is a world of admiration, confidence and friendship in a letter from George Washington to Gen-

## BUILDERS OF THE REPUBLIC

eral Schuyler which has been preserved in the family archives.

“ MOUNT VERNON, 21st Jan., 1784.

“ DEAR SIR :

“ Your favor of the 20th of Dec. found me, as you conjectured by that fireside from which I had been too long absent for my own convenience; to which I returned with the greatest avidity, the moment my public avocations would permit; and from which I hope never again to be withdrawn.

“ While I am here solacing myself in my retreat from the busy scenes of life, I am not only made extremely happy by the gratitude of my countrymen in general but particularly so by the repeated proofs of the kindness of those who have been intimately conversant with my public transactions. And I need scarcely add, that the favorable opinion of no one is more acceptable than that of yourself.

“ In recollecting the vicissitudes of fortune we have experienced and the difficulties we have surmounted, I shall always call to mind the great assistance I have frequently received from you both in your public and private character. May the blessings of peace amply reward your exertions; may you and your family (to whom the compliments of Mrs. Washington and myself are affectionately presented) long continue to enjoy every species of happiness the world can afford.

“ With sentiments of sincere esteem, attachment and affection, I am Dear Sir, your most obedient, very humble servant,

“ G. WASHINGTON.”

## PHILIP JOHN SCHUYLER

In private life General Schuyler preserved the traditions of his race to the very last. The honors which came to him never changed the courteous simplicity of his manners nor the gentleness with which he met alike the highest and the lowest of the land. The chivalrous lover, and popular beau, ripened into a wise father, a devoted husband and the sunny center of a great social circle. Even a large family, and he had fourteen children, never disturbed his equanimity, but on the contrary appeared to develop the paternal virtues and extend them into philanthropic habits of mind. His influence was always for good and his energies applied to the betterment of all things around him.

Time has dealt kindly with him. In his character were so many of the romantic and poetic qualities of human life that as the years have thrown oblivion upon the cares, trials and petty incidents of his career, these have grown brighter and assumed the shadowy outlines of a Bayard or a Black Prince. No revolutionary character was more idealistic than he. A brave soldier, he fought only for principles and not for fame, nor self aggrandizement. An able legislator and statesman, he was singularly free from personal ambition and seemingly incapable of political intrigue. A man of the highest birth and accomplishments he never lost his interest in the masses, who had not been similarly favored in this world's affairs.

Enjoying all those things which so seldom are allotted to one individual, he never forgot the relativity of life and the imminence of great spiritual powers. He perceived the ideals of life and in both thought, word and deed was himself an ideal, of whom the American people may be proud.

## JAMES MADISON

*Born, March 16, 1751; Died, June 28, 1836.*

OUT of the great middle class of Virginia came James Madison, scholar, statesman and fourth President of the United States. His people were planters, owning small estates, and raising enough tobacco to keep themselves in comfort, though not in wealth. His father, James, seems to have been a stronger and more thoughtful type of man than most of the people in the Rappahannock district. The planters as a class in those days led easy-going, happy lives, of which fox hunting, generous hospitality and social entertainment were the chief features. The soil was exceedingly fertile; slave labor made needless much exertion upon their part, and ambition scarcely troubled them unless it was in regard to the insignificant political honors of the town. Education was at a low ebb, and the number of reading men was small, and of scholarly men next to nothing.

When, therefore, the elder Madison determined that his seven children, of whom James was the oldest, should have the advantages of a better education than he himself had had, or than was possible to secure in that part of Virginia, it is clear that in this respect at least he was an exceptional character among the leisure-loving planters of his time. The plans were carried into execution, and the boy was

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entered at a school kept by a Scotchman named Donald Robertson, where he made steady progress. At that time he possessed a poor constitution, and had little or no liking for the amusements of healthy boyhood. He lived in his imagination, and found his chief pleasures in books and study. He was a courteous and affectionate boy, and won the heart of the old Scotch pedagogue, who took great delight in helping his favorite scholar in literary and mental paths, which other youths avoided.

Young Madison was not only at the head of his class, but was a class all to himself. When he got as far as the school would take him, he prepared for college under the Rev. Thomas Martin, the parish clergyman, who lived in the Madison household. From him he undoubtedly derived the desire to go to Princeton College, which at that time as now, was noted for its scholarship. This in itself was an unusual thing. Local feelings were very strong in those days. The average young Virginian went to William and Mary College as a matter of colonial pride and patriotism, a stronger factor than the love of scholarship. Another cause contributed to this feeling. William and Mary was more or less Anglican in its tendency, as was the commonwealth; while Princeton was essentially Presbyterian. It must therefore have been the subject of much discussion among the town gossips when young Madison, in 1769, at the age of eighteen, went north to New Jersey for his education.

His career at Princeton was more than creditable. He stood very high in every study, and in addition to the cur-

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riculum took courses in other topics, more especially the Hebrew language and literature. Judging from these courses, one biographer asserts that the ambitious student contemplated entering the legal profession; another declares that it was not law but theology toward which he aimed. It seems more probable that he was influenced by a nobler ambition, and that he desired to acquire all the culture which it was possible to obtain at Princeton. Studies reflect disposition if not character, and the theological bent displayed by his work during the four years merely indicate a deep religiousness which marked the man through life.

Poor health followed him through his college career. At times, moods of depression seized him, in which he looked forward to an early death and tried to prepare himself for another life. It was in one of these moods just after graduation that he wrote: "I am too dull and infirm now to look out for extraordinary things in this world, for I think my sensations for many months have intimated to me not to expect a long or healthy life; though it may be better with me after some time; but I hardly dare expect it, and therefore have little spirit or elasticity to set about anything that is difficult in acquiring and useless in possessing after one has exchanged time for eternity."

This morbidity was merely superficial and represented a body ill at ease. It did not disturb the great mind and soul which lay beneath. These were now vast engines, whose power and beauty were yet to be disclosed to the world. Yet now and then we obtain glimpses of the real man. Between



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1772 and 1774 he displayed in conversation and correspondence the deepest interest in state, national and religious affairs. The statesman and the reformer within him had risen up in protest against the evils of the time. He already recognized the imperfections, follies and wrongs in the Colonial government, the tyranny and injustice of the English administration and the cruel intolerance and bigotry of the governing cult of Virginia.

Against these wrongs he raised the voice of protest, and in the seclusion of his study planned changes in the law of the Commonwealth in the relation between Colony and Crown, and in the status of sect and church. The highest compliment that can be paid to him is that at the age of twenty-three he had realized the necessity of the complete separation of church from state, and of religious liberty for every citizen within the borders. Ecclesiastical forces were very strong in the middle of the eighteenth century; men were brought up to believe in the exclusive holiness of their own faith and the unpardonable sinfulness of all others. At this time there were men in jail in Virginia, upright, sincere Christians, for the heinous crime "of worshipping God contrary to civil law." Even when sick and weak, Madison never flinched from the performance of duty. Although entirely unfitted for a soldier's life, he had himself enrolled for the national defense, and at one time held a commission as sub-lieutenant. So far as is known his military career was formal and not actual.

Though he had taken little or no part in public affairs, his high learning and courtesy had so impressed themselves

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upon the community, that in 1774 he was made a member of the County Committee of Safety. Here he showed himself to be efficient, intelligent and patriotic. He worked even when suffering from illness, and often against the protests of sympathetic colleagues. The calm courage which is displayed when the mind controls the recalcitrant body may not be equal to that of the soldier in the brunt of battle, but is nevertheless an equally strong evidence of a great manhood.

He won the affection as well as the respect of his neighbors, who in 1776 elected him a delegate to the Virginia Convention. His constituents builded better than they knew. Neither they nor he were aware that public life was the arena for which Madison was better fitted than for any other. He took his seat in the Convention, and soon became a power in that body. The committee to which was referred the matter of a bill of rights and of a State Constitution included him as an unknown member. In a short time he became one of its leaders. Before the Convention, he delivered a great speech on religious freedom, and urged the prohibition of any established church. He was a radical of radicals, and to his joy found himself supported by some of the ablest lawyers and thinkers of the State.

But he was in advance of his time, and the amendments that he favored were too sweeping to be accepted by the majority. Yet so strong was his argument, and so well martialled his forces, that the convention adopted a compromise in the matter, and passed the following clause upon the subject:

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“That religion or the duty we owe to our Creator can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence; and therefore, all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience.”

This is the form in which Madison drafted it, and thus it has remained to the present day. Other Commonwealths have adopted the same sentiments as their organic law, and a few have even borrowed his simple speech. It will go down to posterity as the first public achievement of the young statesman from the Rappahannock.

The public career so favorably opened lasted forty years, and is a noble chapter in the history of the American nation. From the start he showed a personality so vigorous as to demonstrate him to be a statesman and not a politician. Elected to the First Assembly under the Virginia Constitution, he was renominated for a second election. Here he was called upon to treat the voters to whiskey, according to an ancient custom which has not yet entirely died out even in 1902. To the surprise of the community, Madison refused to employ any such methods. His enemies sneered, his friends entreated, his party leaders thundered. But it was to no avail. He would not make a barroom campaign, and he would not secure votes by appealing to the love of liquor or to the affection which unlimited inebriety produces. He was the first American candidate to make a campaign upon a clean, manly basis. Virginia, which had the same bibulous instincts as are now attributed to Bourbon county, Kentucky, looked on with

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horror. The election went off without a Madisonian voter being drunk. The opposition, according to the goodly gossip of the time, was "gloriously befuddled for a fortnight." Whiskey won and Madison lost, but the loss was confined to an assemblymanship for one year.

Beneath the loss he had won the greatest victory of his time. He had set Virginia thinking; he had gained the admiration of good and true people, irrespective of party, and he had won the undying gratitude of the women and children, who looked forward with fears and trembling to the hustings every year.

And the loss was no loss. When the assembly convened there was but one subject of discussion, Madison and the whiskey vote. Every member of the House knew too well the hideous tax the custom was upon the candidate. Everyone had wanted to bid defiance to the time-dishonored practice, but had not had the courage for fear of losing the election. Here was a thin, sallow, mournful young college man, whom a breath could blow away, deliberately antagonizing constituents, public sentiment, distillers and tavern keepers alike. It seemed incredible, but yet it was a fact. When therefore an assemblyman whose drink-bills had been over \$1,000, rose and named Madison as a member of the Governor's Council, the nomination went through with a roar of cheers. The young iconoclast had lost the assembly, but in losing it had leaped a great step upward and onward, and had become a figure in State politics.

His promotion did not change his methods. He was simply a glutton for hard work. People complained that

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he was gloomy and pessimistic; that he never laughed and never joked; but from Governor to page all agreed that he was the hardest worker and the best official Virginia had ever known. He seems to have been a cyclopedia for every one at the capital. Lawyers went to him for precedents; orators for references; scholars for quotations, and clergymen for authorities. Though the youngest man in the council, and probably in the State government, he was undoubtedly the wisest. Thomas Jefferson, noted for extraordinary versatility, memory, and general knowledge did not hesitate to refer to Madison upon all knotty points and vexed questions.

Talent of this sort impresses itself upon the popular mind as deeply if not so pleasurably as eloquence or martial daring. In 1780, Madison was sent as a delegate to the Continental Congress. Although the youngest man there, his fame had preceded him, and from the gray heads he received a warm welcome. Had he been marked by ordinary ambition he would have endeavored to bring himself prominently before the public by a startling measure, a brilliant speech or parliamentary strategy, but his ambition was of no ordinary kind. It was simply to do his duty and to serve the nation. His unwritten motto was "do that which comes to your hand, and do it the best you can." The skilful worker of Virginia became an even more skilful worker in Congress. By degrees the leaders in the House began to notice this thin and silent Virginian. Never had they seen a man like him. His speech was Addisonian in its purity and elegance. His briefest note was a model of style

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and courtesy. He never drank and never posed. He did not yield to the social temptations of Congressional life, or on the other hand display any offensive zealotry or fanaticism. They found him at work in the library or at his desk in the early morning, and those who called upon him in his poor rooms late at night saw him studying and compiling. It was not long before his talents became known and utilized. A Massachusetts delegate would come to him for points as to the exports and imports of Boston; a New Yorker would apply for information respecting a Knickerbocker grant; a Pennsylvanian would consult him concerning French law. Madison himself never alluded to these things, treating them as matters of course; but those who enjoyed his kindnesses began by degrees to spread his fame abroad. All unconsciously, the young man was becoming a mental king in the halls of the nation.

He had a hard life during these dark years, but bore his lot with superb equanimity. Thanks to a good Jew, named Hayne Solomon, he did not become a beggar. Solomon was a broker who had an office near a poor little coffee house where Madison took his meals. The future President was so embarrassed financially that for days he could buy scarcely enough food to keep body and soul together. The broker was another patron of the place, and on one occasion found to his surprise that Madison was a better Hebrew scholar than himself. Before this time the acquaintanceship had been of that distant nature which is based upon accidental meeting. The discovery changed their relations, Together from that time on they would discuss the history

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laws, and religion of the Jews, the oppressions of the Chosen People in European lands, their treatment under the Inquisition, and the vast range of subjects which are connected with the records of that deathless race. Ere long Solomon perceiving Madison's pecuniary distress, offered him money. The latter thanked him and declined to accept the loan. But the good Jew would not be put off. He insisted upon it, and Madison was obliged to yield. That day, tradition says, he had the first good meal which had passed his lips for several months. Solomon's delicacy was admirable. He knew that his learned friend was supposed to be paid by the State of Virginia and through some correspondent he kept a friendly eye upon the treasury of that Commonwealth. In this way he knew the condition of his friend's pocket as well as Madison himself, and during the long months, he kept Madison supplied with enough money for all his wants.

At one time Madison owed him \$600. When it came to repayment the former insisted upon paying interest on the loans, but the generous Israelite utterly refused to accept anything but the face of the debt declaring it not a matter of business but merely of friendship between two men. On one occasion Madison left a handsome sum as interest in an envelope upon his friend's desk, yet when he reached his rooms he was overtaken by a messenger from Solomon returning the envelope, and with it a bottle of wine.

Up to 1784 his work had been constructive and collective. He had been one of a large number who had worked together. It is true that he had been one of the most efficient

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and intelligent, but the difference between him and his colleagues had been inconsiderable. In this year, he was elected to the Virginia legislature, and the question of religious liberty came up in the form of a measure to impose a tax for the support of teachers of the Christian religion. The measure had been drawn by the clerical leaders of the Commonwealth, and upon the face of the law seemed wise and beneficent. But Madison saw at a glance the danger which lurked beneath. He was almost the only member of the Assembly to oppose the bill, and the sponsors of the measure congratulated themselves upon the weakness of the opposition. He made so vigorous a fight that ere long the consideration of the measure was postponed to the next session of the legislature. This was all Madison desired. He now wrote one of the great political essays of American literature "The Memorial and Remonstrance," and sent it all over Virginia for signatures. He spoke and wrote so well, and carried on so vigorous a campaign, that at the following election religious freedom became a test question. The bill came up before the next Assembly and was defeated forever. In its place, Madison's own measure was passed which read "No man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place or ministry whatever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested or burdened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or belief; but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument maintain, their opinions in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge or affect their civil capacities."



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In 1785 and 1786, he was one of the great leaders in the fight against paper money. The country seems to have gone crazy over a fiat currency, and there was danger that the craze would sweep away all financial foundations.

In 1786, he drew the resolutions which brought about the Annapolis Convention. This body met, five States, Virginia, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York being represented. So little was the interest of the country at large in the matter, that the Convention was scarcely noticed. Maryland, which had suggested the proposition in the beginning, neglected to send delegates, although the meeting place was appointed within her own borders. Yet this Convention was the embryo out of which sprang the Constitutional Convention of the following year. Among the great figures at Annapolis were James Madison and Alexander Hamilton. Here, Hamilton wrote his famous address which was adopted by the Convention, urging upon the people the necessity of a Union rather than a Confederacy.

During all these years Madison's voracious reading habits continued. The man seemed determined to know everything there was to be known. He was in touch with zoology, botany, mechanics, archeology, and geography. His mind had become a vast treasury of facts. It may be noticed however, that he was either deficient in the scientific tendencies or else that his mode of work had strengthened his memory at the expense of his other faculties. Thus he ridiculed geology, and tried to explain strata by the funny assumption "that rock grows in layers in every di-

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rection as the branches of trees grow in all directions?" As to fossils and paleolithic remains, he dismissed the matter by the hypothesis that the Creator "created the earth at once nearly in the state in which we see it, fit for the preservation of the beings he placed on it."

To the great Constitutional Convention of 1787, Virginia sent a noble delegation, which included George Washington and James Madison. The body promptly made the former its president, and opened the proceedings which were to make or unmake a continent. The credit of the Convention and the Constitution is due of course to the one hundred and sixty-nine men who made the organic law of the land. If among the individual members any two are to be singled out, James Madison and Alexander Hamilton undoubtedly deserve signal credit. The Constitution was an untried experiment and encountered bitter opposition above all from true patriots who regarded it as the opening wedge of monarchy. In the Convention itself the measure was carried only by a vote of eighty-nine to seventy-nine.

The battle was but begun. The defeated minority returned to its respective States to carry on a bitter war against the adoption of the instrument. Virginia went Anti-Federalist, and under the leadership of Patrick Henry, named Richard Henry Lee and William Grayson, both Anti-Federalists, as nominees for the United States Senate. Henry singled Madison out as the one man who should not represent the Commonwealth. The strongest efforts were made to keep the great statesman from the House, the opposition even changing the districts to prevent his being

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chosen by the people. But the great common people rallied to him, and he was returned to the First Congress under the Constitution. While there, he offered twelve amendments to the Constitution, of which the first ten were duly adopted.

Now began the changing of old party lines and the forming of new ones. Heretofore the struggle had been between the Federalists and the Anti-Federalists, the former had won the day, and the Constitution which the latter had fought so fiercely had become the basis of the American nation. There was no *raison d'être*, for the party and it passed away to the limbo of Whig and Tory. Against the Federalist party now rose up the Republican. This believed with its rival in a strong government; unlike its rival it had a profound faith in the common people. Madison belonged to the latter class. He had been a Federalist because he recognized the necessity of a strong central government. He became a Republican because he believed in the American citizen.

In 1801, Jefferson appointed him Secretary of State, which marks the second chapter in the latter's career. To the student of history it was less successful than the first. As a legislator of both State and nation, Madison was one of the greatest intellects the country has seen, but when it came to the world of executive action, he did not rise equal to the occasion. It was a time for men of action and not of wisdom, for the soldier and the diplomat and not the reformer and scholar.

At the expiration of Jefferson's second term, Madison

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was elected President of the United States. His administration was weak and colorless. The war of 1811—1812 restored his popularity and re-elected him. In spite of the navy's noble record on the sea his second term cannot be praised nor admired. The entire management of affairs was feeble and spiritless. The nation at the time needed a man of militant if not military characteristics, while Madison was essentially a man of peace. At the close of his second term, in 1817, he retired to private life at Montpelier, Va., where he spent twenty quiet and delightful years. Fortune favored him in the lottery of marriage. His wife was Dorothy Payne Todd, a widow of extraordinary beauty and accomplishments. Her husband, John Todd, died in the yellow fever epidemic of 1793, and in September of the following year she married the Virginia statesman. Their married life lasted forty-two years, and was cloudless in its happiness. She was known in Washington society as "Dolly Madison," and was justly the most popular woman of her time.

James Madison will be remembered not as President nor as Secretary of State, but as a high-minded and statesman-like legislator, a political reformer of the best type, and a father of the Federal Constitution. In each of these characters he is a commanding and even magnificent figure. In addition to the charms of intellect he was marked by a personal rectitude so rare as to be memorable. Among the builders of the Republic his name will go down with those of Jefferson, Hamilton, Franklin and Jay.

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## XIII

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### PATRICK HENRY

*Born, May 29, 1736; Died, June 6, 1799.*

**W**HO in contemplating a chrysalis can descry beneath its uncouth exterior, the matchless beauty of the butterfly, or who seeing an idle poet, dreamer and musician, can conceive of his evolving into one of the great orators and statesmen of the world? The mysteries of physical life are insignificant beside those which belong to the development of the human soul. The dreamer who became a statesman, the idle fiddler who made himself the peer of Demosthenes, was Patrick Henry, a Virginian of Scotch and English ancestry.

His parents were fairly well to do. His home was marked by comfort, intelligence and affection. Early in boyhood he went to school, where he learned the three R's and displayed a rare talent for indolence and geniality. At the age of ten he entered the grammar school kept by his own father, and began the classical education of that time. Despite parental advice, entreaty and punishment, the youth was incorrigibly idle. He was an affectionate and lovable boy, who had no faults excepting that he would not study. In the morning, he was the soul of courtesy, and did everything a boy could do to make himself useful to father, mother, brothers and sisters, but when the school-hour arrived, he had invariably vanished. Sometimes it was shoot-

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ing, sometimes fishing, and sometimes wild flowers, which engrossed his day. Mischief had no charm for him, neither did he desire the companionship of playmates. According to his own family, he simply loved idleness for its own sake. Up to the attainment of manhood's estate he was an insignificant member of the community, if not a nonentity. His features, though good, were coarse and sunburned; his manners awkward; his conversation plain and uninteresting. To all who knew him, he seemed a creature whom nature intended for a solitary denizen of the wilderness, scarcely any higher than the wild animals among which he loved to live rather than a leader among men.

Parental love is very patient, but has its limits. When his son was fifteen, the father gave him up as hopeless, so far as mentality was concerned, and put him to work as an errand boy in a country store. Here he displayed a dull slowness worthy of the proverbial district telegraph messenger. Nevertheless, though apathetic and lazy to the last degree, he was honest, truthful and courteous.

His slowness must have been phenomenal, because it disgusted the easy going country store-keeper. There was no other store to go to, and so his father started him and his brother William in business on a very small scale. The young firm must have been a source of infinite merriment to the neighbors in Studley, Va. William was not quite so indolent as Patrick, but on the other hand he was wild and dissipated. The store experiment lasted one year. Its chief use to Henry was that it gave him leisure, which he devoted to his violin and to reading. The young man's



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*From a portrait belonging to Mrs. Thos. Bolling, Jr.  
Richmond, Va.*

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moral sense prevented his leaving the counter to go fishing and shooting, and to kill time he began the use of books. This at the beginning was a lazy man's dernier resort. To his surprise he found that he enjoyed reading and ere long he had become more or less of a bookworm.

While head over heels in debt, and with no means of livelihood, he fell in love with Miss Sarah Shelton, the pretty daughter of a poor farmer in the neighborhood. With utter disregard of all prudence, the young woman, who appeared to be as improvident as himself, was married to him when he was eighteen. The families of the happy pair united in settling them on a small farm. Here the future orator digged and delved in ragged clothes, depending at times upon the kitchen of either mother or mother-in-law for his next meal. But it never disturbed the serenity of his soul or his wife's. When they had only corn meal and smoked bacon at their house, the wife would cook while Henry read poetry to her or played the violin. When the meal was insufficient, he would eke it out with a kiss and an embrace. His sunny nature made his poor hovel a little heaven for its inmates. Two years he devoted to husbandry, and its only reward were a very sun-burned face and calloused hands as hard as the shovel-handle which they daily plied.

Again he tried shop-keeping, and again ruin was the result of his efforts. He had no brother as partner to worry him, and so had more time for himself. He now added the flute to the violin, and when he was too poor to afford a candle in the night time would play in the dark,

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making believe that he was serenading his wife. Another new joy was to lock up the store and take her out with him to the river and teach her how to fish. But through his playfulness and nonsense, a serious strain was making itself manifest. Knowledge began to appeal to him. Realizing his utter ignorance, he began to study the great master works of antiquity. Incidentally he became a graceful and accomplished dancer. Jefferson, who met him at this period, speaks of him pleasantly, and sums him up by saying that "his passion was music, dancing and pleantry."

Having failed in every calling he had tried, Henry now determined to take up one which is supposed to demand the hardest study of all. He announced his determination to study law. It made no difference to him that he was penniless, and that several years of hard reading ought to precede admission to the bar. To him life was a royal comedy, and the legal profession a delightful joke. He borrowed a copy of Coke upon Littleton, and a few volumes of statutes, which he read assiduously for six weeks. With smiling imperturbability, he presented himself for examination. But for his delightful personality, he would have been rejected forthwith. But even then he seems to have possessed a personal magnetism that won men's hearts. With two of the examiners he had no trouble. They signed his certificate, which under the court rule of that day admitted him to the bar, but this did not satisfy him. He wanted that of the gravest and severest of the examiners, a Mr. Randolph. The latter was a courtly ad-  
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vocate, whose manners, wig, costume, buckled shoes and silk stockings were models of the highest elegance. His feelings may be imagined, when Henry appeared before him. The would-be lawyer's hair was a mere shock; his hands and face were red like those of a farm laborer; his clothes seedy and even soiled, and his manners were to put it mildly breezy in the extreme.

The legal examination passed into a discussion, where, to the elder man's surprise, Henry proved himself a brilliant thinker and fascinating talker. So far as is known this was the first exhibition of that intellectual and passionate eloquence which were to make their owner immortal. Randolph signed the certificate, and from that time on was an admirer of the extraordinary young lawyer. He was thus launched at the bar, knowing probably less of law and practice than any office boy in Virginia. But something within the man had changed. His constitutional indolence had vanished. He studied, attended to what business he had, and in the evening aided his father-in-law in the conduct of the tavern, which the latter owned. In the tap room of the establishment he soon was conspicuous for two reasons, the one was his abstemiousness from drinking, and the other his fascination as a conversationalist.

In 1763, Henry, who was unknown outside of Hanover, where he was practicing law, was retained in what is known as, "The Parson Cause" or the "Tobacco Tithing Case." Far back in the seventeenth century a law had been passed imposing a tax upon the community whereby the taxpayers of each parish were obliged to supply the parish minister

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with an annual stipend of sixteen thousand pounds of tobacco. The law was passed at the time when tobacco was a currency and money was exceedingly scarce. With the progress of the colony, the tax had been scaled and converted into a pecuniary impost upon the basis of two pence a pound. When in 1755, there was a very bad harvest and tobacco advanced in price, the legislature passed a law whereby a planter had the legal option between delivering the leaf or paying cash at two pence a pound. In 1758 a similar law was passed, but this one did not receive the royal assent. The price of the tobacco soon rose thereafter more than three hundred per cent. The clergy, desirous of getting the full benefit of the rise in prices, brought suit, and Henry was retained in a small case upon the opposite side. When he began the defense he was an obscure and even unknown solicitor; yet the astonishing brilliancy of his work, and the wonderful eloquence of his speech, not alone won what was considered a hopeless case, but also made him famous throughout the Commonwealth. In the morning he had been a poor man burdened with debt. When the case was closed he received enough retainers to pay off most of his debts and support him for a year. Before the month had gone by he had been engaged in all the tobacco-tax cases throughout Virginia.

His eloquence was and even is to-day a mystery. His education had amounted to almost nothing, and his little reading had been legal and historical. Prior to that time his voice had been poor, his gesture awkward, and his carriage ungraceful. No one had ever trained him in speak-

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ing, nor had he ever had an opportunity to study the art of the debater or the elocutionist. Yet in this old court house, without a warning, he had suddenly displayed the best qualities of a dozen schools of speaking, using humor, sentiment, pathos, satire, dramatic climax, logic, antithesis simile, metaphor, apostrophe, involved and terrific parallels and diamond-cut epigrams. The lazy fiddler, the jocular good-fellow, the serene shopkeeper and the poor practitioner, had fallen away from the man, like so many invisible garments, and there had appeared the greatest orator Virginia had ever known. It was more than a seven days' wonder. It seemed almost a miracle. There was an element too in his speech which appealed to all hearts. The necessities of the suit brought out a defense of the people against the Throne, and an advocacy of popular against feudal, royal and special rights and privileges.

Virginia had at that time a caste system based upon primogeniture and entail, which had already brought about social inequality and unpleasant distinctions. There was a landed aristocracy and an ecclesiastical aristocracy, both small and exclusive, and monopolizing largely the offices and honors of the colony. Below these were various classes who numerically were nine-tenths of the population. Probably Henry did not have these facts in his mind when he spoke, but they must have colored his thought and increased the earnestness and intensity with which he defended what he was pleased to term the "majesty of the people." His strong language touched the hearts of the hearers in more ways than one. Directly it referred merely

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to the case at issue ; indirectly it applied to nine out of every ten men in that opulent colony.

Now that fortune had begun to favor him he avoided the goddess as before. His prosperity enabled him to buy better guns and fishing rods, to own a horse and to spend two or three days in the woods, where before he had spent an afternoon. In May, 1765, Henry was elected to the House of Burgesses. This body contained many men of the highest distinction, including John Robinson, Attorney-General Peyton Randolph, Richard Bland, Edmund Pendleton, George Wythe and Richard Henry Lee. His entrance into political life was not cordially received by the aristocratic leaders of the time. His dress was plain almost to poverty ; he despised the wigs, powder, patches and luxurious raiment so common in those days, and either from deliberate purpose or from old habit, employed both the slang and the vulgar pronunciation of his district. These incurred the ridicule and contempt of the aristocracy.

Yet they admired his superb brain power and eloquence. Admiration was succeeded by fear. They realized that he represented the common people, who were a great majority, and that he possessed the ability to weld them into a compact body and wrest from the old time leaders the reins of government. On the other hand the people who had always admired him were beginning to love him. They realized in a vague way that his faults were their faults ; his improvidence their improvidence ; his shiftless habits their shiftless habits, and his folly their folly. They saw clearly that he owned what they did not, an intellect so powerful,

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and an eloquence so potent, as to make all other leaders seem small beside him in the arena.

Between these antagonistic forces a conflict was inevitable, and it came soon after his election and when he was just twenty-nine years of age. The Stamp Act had been passed and the English Colonies were excitedly discussing the measure. In Virginia the aristocratic leaders refused to commit themselves, many of them favoring it, but all of them preserving a discreet silence. Henry waited to see if some older member would introduce the matter, and finding that none had either the ability or courage to take up the task, became himself the leader of the people. He drew a set of five resolutions, in which he took strong ground for freedom, holding that the settlers of Virginia had brought to the New World the privileges, franchises and immunities they had enjoyed at home; that the Charters of King James had practically made invested rights; that only the people could tax themselves; that Parliament had no right to tax the people; that only the Assembly of the Colony had the right to tax, and that any attempt by the British Crown to usurp this right was a blow at freedom.

The resolutions fairly startled the staid House of Burgesses. The old leaders could hardly trust their ears. They had believed up to that time that they held the initiative in the legislature, and that beyond this the body was loyal and obedient to the king. The resolutions themselves were revolutionary; they came from the youngest member of the House, with whom they were not on speaking terms, and more monstrous still, they emanated from a man who

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represented the mob. The reception accorded the reading showed them that there was danger in the air. With gallantry and trained skill they took up the gauntlet which Henry had thrown down, and fought him in a debate whose dignity and force had never been surpassed in the history of the Commonwealth. Randolph, Bland, Pendleton, Wythe, and all the aristocrats opposed the resolutions to the best of their ability. But their argument proved unsuccessful against Henry's impetuous eloquence. When it came to a vote all five resolutions were carried, the last by a majority of one.

Henry's speech and the action of the legislature were soon known to every patriot in the Thirteen Colonies. The news strengthened the weak and timid and revived those of fainting hearts. It discouraged the Tories everywhere, and alarmed the aristocratic leaders, more especially of Virginia. Above all it made Patrick Henry the idol of the common people, who from that time on for thirty years viewed him as their own personal representative.

Law and politics saw Henry's sphere enlarge steadily. He became the great criminal lawyer of the State, and the popular leader of the House of Burgesses. The increasing tyranny of the British government was slowly antagonizing the old aristocratic leaders and driving them into the arms of Henry's party. New men were coming into power and they belonged to the latter's school of thought. This is illustrated by an incident in the legislature of 1773, when Dabney Carr, a correspondent of Samuel Adams, moved the appointment of a committee of correspondence



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with the other Colonies for the protection and welfare of the people. It consisted of eleven persons, Randolph, Bland, Lee, Pendleton, Henry, Carr, Jefferson, Cary, Digges, Harrison, and Nicholas. The motion was carried, and as if to show how times had changed the two great voices raised in favor were those of Patrick Henry and Richard Henry Lee.

Events began to move swiftly. On May 24, 1774, the House of Burgesses passed an order setting aside the First day of June as a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer on account of the hostile invasion of the City of Boston by an armed force. The next day Governor Dunmore dissolved the House, whereupon the members withdrew to the Raleigh Tavern, where they organized an association and passed resolutions denouncing the port bill and other acts of Parliament, declaring that an attack upon one Colony was an attack upon all, and recommending the calling of a "general congress to meet annually and to deliberate on those general measures which the united interests of America may from time to time require."

Political machinery was set moving in all the counties which elected delegates to meet in Williamsburg the first of August and there appoint deputies to the General Congress. The Williamsburg meeting came off enthusiastically, and the delegates appointed as deputies to Congress, Peyton Randolph, Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Bland, Benjamin Harrison, and Edmund Pendleton.

At the First Continental Congress Henry pronounced

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one of the great orations of the world. It was in this body that his limitations became painfully manifest. He was by all odds the great speaker of that assemblage, but he was one of its poorest writers and most inefficient committeemen.

Congress adjourned in October, and Henry returned to Virginia. The following March the convention of delegates from the Virginia counties and corporations met for the second time. Everybody was conscious of the struggle going on, and all had come prepared to play his part in the political drama now unfolding. The proceedings began very mildly as had been desired, and perhaps planned by the Royalists and the peace-at-any-price advocates. Things seemed to be going in a *laissez-faire* way when Henry rose and moved the famous resolutions, recommending militia to take the place of the British standing army and garrisons for the securing of American rights and liberties, and urging that the Colony be put into a state of defense and a committee appointed to carry this into action. The proposition was almost tantamount to a declaration of war. It was the boldest act which had yet been taken on the American Continent. It was a bugle blast to the bold and a menace to the Crown. It aroused the antagonism of the Tories, and through what they regarded as impolicy the opposition of such patriots as Bland, Harrison and Pendleton. There was a fierce debate in which every argument was employed against the resolutions, and when the opponents of the measure had finished it looked as if Virginia would continue to bear the ills she had, rather than fly to

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others that she knew not of. All eyes were now turned to Henry, who rose, calm, collected, but so intensely earnest that the suspense manifested by all present became painful. As he drew himself back to begin speaking, the voices of children playing in the street could be heard, and the notes of birds in the eaves of the building. Then from his lips came one of the greatest speeches he had ever delivered, and one of the most masterly the world has ever heard. At last he reached the peroration.

“It is vain, Sir, to extenuate the matter. Gentlemen may cry peace, peace—but there is no peace. The war is actually begun. The next gale that sweeps from the North will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms. Our brethren are already in the field. Why stand we here idle? What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery. Forbid it, Almighty God—I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty, or give me death.”

As he closed there was a sigh, a gasp, but no applause. The speech was the mausoleum of the opposition. The resolutions were adopted, and the Committee of twelve appointed, the Chairman being Patrick Henry, and his lieutenants, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Richard Henry Lee, Benjamin Harrison and Edmund Pendleton. The plan for arming the colony was drawn and adopted.

Governor Dunmore of Virginia now followed the example of Governor Gage of Massachusetts, seizing twenty barrels

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of gunpowder in the city of Williamsburg, which he placed on board of an armed schooner. Everybody was at sea and knew not what to do, everybody excepting Patrick Henry. At his own expense, he sent men on horseback to the members of the Hanover Independent Company, asking them to meet him in arms at Newcastle on May 2nd, on business of the highest importance to American liberty. He also invited the County Committee and every patriot he knew within twenty-five miles. They met him and he spoke as only Henry could speak. The meeting went wild. Captain Meredith of the Company resigned his commission in Henry's favor, who was immediately and unanimously elected commander of the Volunteers. Captain Henry, for such he was now, immediately marched upon Williamsburg. As he and his soldiers advanced armed men from every quarter on foot and on horseback joined the ranks. Ere the destination was reached at least five thousand riflemen were together. Many patriots frightened at Henry's boldness begged him to desist, but in vain. The Governor fumed and fulminated, but at the last hour his courage weakened and he caused a messenger to meet Captain Henry with a bill of exchange for the amount of the powder at Henry's own valuation. Henry accepted the bill and gave the following extraordinary receipt:

"Received from the Hon. Richard Corbin, Esq., his Majesty's Receiver General 3301 as a compensation for the gunpowder lately taken out of the public magazine by the governor's order; which money I promise to convey to the Virginia delegates at the General Congress to be under

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their direction, laid out in gunpowder for the Colony's use, and to be stored as they shall direct, until the next Colony convention, or General Assembly, unless it shall be necessary, in the meantime to use the same in defence of the Colony. It is agreed that in case the next convention shall determine that any part of the said money ought to be returned to His Majesty's said Receiver General that the same shall be done accordingly."

In July, 1775, the Colonial convention met at Richmond and began the organization of its army. To Henry, they paid the graceful compliment of electing him Colonel of the First regiment and Commander of all the forces raised and to be raised for the Colony.

In 1776, Virginia elected Henry its first Governor. There was but one ballot, he receiving sixty out of one hundred and six votes. In 1778, he was re-elected unanimously. In 1779 he was again elected, and although he might have held the office on excellent technical grounds, he refused to serve, as in his belief the Constitution made him ineligible for another term.

1780 saw him back in the Assembly hard at work for the cause of the Colonies. After the Revolution he again became Governor of his State for two terms, and was elected for a third, but declined to serve.

In 1794, he was made United States Senator, where he served with his usual distinction. Honors were offered to him lavishly, but were not accepted on account of his conscientious scruples in regard to all political measures. Washington proffered to him the Secretaryship of State,

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and afterwards the Chief Justiceship, and Adams nominated him as Special Minister to France.

In middle life, after the death of his first wife, he married Dorothea Spotswood Landridge. By the former there were six and by the latter nine children.

Patrick Henry's place in American history is that of a personality of transcendent influence. Of the individuals who brought about the war of the Revolution, he and Samuel Adams may be regarded as the leaders. In fiery patriotism, and absolute disregard for consequences, he was a Prince Rupert among the Builders of the Republic. No statesman, politician nor executive was he, but a poet, a hero, and an orator. The United States, through its system of representative government, has developed oratory to a greater degree than any country of the world, and has produced probably more men of eloquence than any other nation. In the long roll of eminent American speakers, two tower over all the rest, Patrick Henry in the eighteenth and Daniel Webster in the nineteenth century. So long as eloquence moves the human heart, and patriotism appeals to the nobler qualities of the human character, just that long will Patrick Henry wear the laurels of immortality.

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## XIV

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### HENRY KNOX

*Born, July 25, 1750; Died, October 25, 1806.*

**P**ERSONALITY and fame are related in a manner inexplicable to the student. Of two men, who play unusual parts in a great political crisis the smaller and less worthy is often put upon a far higher pedestal than the other. Yet the injustice is not permanent. Time, which tries all things, imperceptibly gives the larger place to the larger man. This has been the lot of General Henry Knox, Chief of the Artillery in the Revolution, First Secretary of War under the Confederation and the Federal Constitution, and all his life a patriot of the highest distinction. Seemingly forgotten by the first half of the nineteenth century, or moved aside to make way for less significant men, he is again resuming the high place which he occupied in the dark days when the Republic was being born.

He came of a race which has long been Scotland's glory. A branch of it migrated in the eighteenth century to the north of Ireland, which during the days of the great eviction sent many of its most stalwart sons across the ocean to the New World, where they hoped to found a new Scotland free from the evils and abuses of the old.

Among these immigrants was William Knox, a ship builder, who settled in Boston, and established there a good business. Of ten sons, Henry, the seventh, was to make the

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family name as loved and respected in the Colonies as John the great theologian had done in Scotland. No better type of an American school boy can be found in our annals than this young Bostonian. In sport and study, in affection and courtesy, in intelligence and ambition, he displayed all the promise of a noble and well rounded manhood. At the age of thirteen, when he was in the graduating class of the Boston grammar school, his father died, leaving practically no estate for the widow and children. Henry promptly left school and looked for employment. His quest was rewarded in a few days by his becoming an errand boy and clerk in the book store of Wharton & Bowes, Cornhill, Boston. Fortunately for the youth his employers, though strict men of business, believed in the excellent theory more prevalent then than now that an employer had a duty in regard to the physical, mental and moral welfare of a clerk. When labor was slack and the store quiet, they encouraged the clerk to read and study, pointing out the lines most advantageous for a boy's career. They permitted the carrying of books to the boy's home, and acquiesced in all matters where they had authority, when they believed it to be for his well-being. These seven years were a liberal education to the apprentice. As time passed on he became acquainted with the patrons of the book store, among whom were the cultured members of the community.

Although a hard student, he never lost his interest in open air sports and was a leader in the games and amusements of the Boston apprentices of the time. Sunny and





MAJ.-GEN. HENRY KNOX

*From the painting by Stuart, in Faneuil Hall, Boston, Mass.*

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genial, he was at the same time combative and even pugilistic. For at least three years he was the champion of his neighborhood, and was called upon frequently to uphold with his fists the glory and honor of his crowd. In these encounters he usually came out first, and by degrees acquired a reputation as a skilful fighter in mimic war, and a delightful companion in peace. When twenty years of age, he took part in the bloody affray known as the Boston massacre. Here he endeavored to stop the rioting, and risked his life in his attempt to prevent an armed conflict, and when this had taken place to bring it to an end as speedily as possible.

The following year (1771) he opened a little shop of his own which he called the "London Book Store." Many of his invoices have been preserved and throw an interesting light upon the literary tastes of that period as well as upon the good judgment of the young bookseller. Upon his shelves were works on law, medicine, theology, politics, history, and philosophy. There were volumes of sermons by famous divines, and a large assortment of fiction. The novelists then in vogue were Smollett, Fielding, Richardson, Sterne, Swift, Goldsmith, and De Foe. Voltaire, Cervantes, Baxter, Rochester, and Paley had each his own set of readers. Many entries of school and college books evidence that young Knox had secured contracts with the educational establishments in Massachusetts. The little stationery department grew along lines that seem somewhat odd to a modern reader. Beside paper, ink, quills, sand-boxes, shot-cups, sealing wax and the other paraphernalia of the old-

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time desk, were to be found bread-baskets, paper-baskets, German flutes, English fifes, telescopes, protractors, dividers, ruling pens, paper hangings, moguls, and standishes.

The business methods of his time were improved by the young merchant who established an exchange system with booksellers in other cities, and who also anticipated in a vague way the present installment plan of selling books by disposing of his goods on long terms of credit.

Under these auspices, his shop became popular and was frequented by the "quality" of Boston. Harrison Grey Otis said, "it was a store of great display and attraction for young and old and a fashionable morning lounge."

Knox appealed to youth as well as to cultured age. He was exceedingly comely, and possessed a lightness and grace more like that of a Frenchman than a staid New Englander. The fashionable young maidens of the city took to him, and by their presence made his store all the more attractive to the young men of the place. Among these fair patrons was Miss Lucy Flucker, a Tory belle, who won his heart and lost her own. The acquaintanceship formed over the books and the counter deepened into love and ripened into marriage. The attachment was a strong one, because the union occurred against the fierce protests of the girl's kindred, all of whom were staunch loyalists. Business duties did not prevent the young man from looking after his physical welfare. He rowed, shot, and walked whenever he had the opportunity, and seems to have been a skilful angler and hunter.

When the Anti-Consumption League was established in

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New England as a retaliatory measure against the Boston Port Bill, Knox became an earnest member, although he realized that it meant the ruin of his business, if not his bankruptcy. Books and stationery were luxuries rather than necessities in those days, and were almost exclusively of foreign make. They came to Boston in English ships from English merchants in London, and they were the first to be affected by the action of the Anti-Consumers. During these stirring times the young man cast discretion to the winds, and was an open and ardent advocate of Colonial rights. The moment the nucleus of the Colonial army began to form, he left his store to the care of his brother William and went to the front, where he had a hearty welcome from all who knew him.

As early as 1768, he had joined an artillery company, known as "The Train." There were unique social distinctions in these years which went down even into the military and militia services. Conservative young men and those of middle age, belonged to "The Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company;" the young bloods of the city to the "Governor's Guards." Those who wanted to master the science of war joined "The Train," whose commander was a notoriously strict drill-master. During the four years that Knox served in this organization, he learned nearly all that was taught at that time. Gunnery, field work, and entrenching were the regular curriculum. In addition to this was the making of fascines, chevaux de frise, and other martial defenses. The artilleryman was instructed in the use of the sword, musket, and bayonet so

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that his education was much more extensive and thorough than that of the infantry soldier or cavalryman.

In 1772, a number of ambitious members of "The Train" formed a new organization styled "The Boston Grenadier Corps." It was commanded by Captain Joseph Peirce, and Knox, now twenty-two years of age, was lieutenant. The new company was really the pick of the old. The members were not only more ambitious but better off. They signaled their advent by an unusually handsome uniform and from the first were pronounced the best drilled company in the New England militia. Either deliberately or accidentally there were no small men in the ranks, the shortest being five feet ten and the tallest six feet two inches. The average member was two inches taller than that of the other militia companies and six inches taller than the British regular. So fine and martial an appearance did the Grenadiers make that they won the cordial praise of the British officers stationed in Boston.

Even before he left the city to join the Colonial army, Knox had become recognized as a "rebel." It was under these auspices that his love affair culminated in marriage. The congratulations showered upon bride and groom were somewhat dampened by political conditions. The girl's family feared that her husband would meet with a traitor's death, and she herself must have been grieved by the fact that while her husband was a rebel her only brother, a lieutenant in the British Army might be called upon to oppose him in the arena of war. The Fluckers admired the young man in spite of his rebellious proclivities. They thought

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that his attitude was inspired by military ambition rather than by any political chimera, as they regarded the Colonial demands, and secured for him the offer of a commission as lieutenant and thereafter as captain in the British Army. Knox thanked them and refused to accept anything from the Crown. His attitude was the same as that of a score of other great patriots in Boston at the time, and was unlike those of the many time servers, who shouted liberty one day and took office with a fat salary the next.

In addition to his business duties, military work and patriotic activity, Knox found time to aid the Colonial cause in other ways. Governor Gage had started a system of espionage and surveillance upon all suspected rebels, in which category was the young bookseller. He was so open in his demeanor that he received the high compliment of being one of the first patriots who was forbidden to leave Boston. With certain grim humor, he determined to give a Roland for an Oliver, and with a group of patriots established a counter espionage upon the officials and their spies. With him in this work was his friend Paul Revere the engraver.

At the time Revere was not suspected, and on account of his business relations with Knox could come and go from the latter's store without arousing suspicion. He took the precaution however, always to bring a plate when he visited the bookseller, and if there were any spies or British officers about, to have a make-believe quarrel in regard to imaginary work. Time and again when they had the wrong kind of an audience, he would denounce Knox at the top of

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his lungs, and Knox would give as good as he received, until they were alone. They carried out this comedy so successfully that on several occasions Revere was asked by British spies for information respecting the rebel book-seller.

Thus far only men of importance from an official point of view had been forbidden to leave Boston. Knox foreseeing the coming storm had encouraged the departure of all patriots, especially those who could bear arms. Judging from the old roster roll, he must have been a prime factor in the causes which led to nine-tenths of the Grenadier Corps leaving the city and joining the Colonial forces outside. Several months elapsed before the defection aroused any alarm in Governor Gage and his cabinet. One day a Tory leader realized that nearly all the Colonial sympathizers had left the city, and that the population was now practically nothing but loyalists and loyal troops. Gage thereupon issued an order in council prohibiting all migration. Those who had gone had carried with them firearms and munitions of war. The amount they carried was of course small, but rumor magnified it from day to day until the Tories became panic stricken at the idea of huge magazines intended for their destruction being established at points comparatively near to the city. It was this fear which induced Gage to send Percy's expedition out in March, 1775, to find where the magazines were located and how large were the forces of the rebels around Jamaica Plains, and a larger expedition to Concord the following month. The departure of both detachments was reported in time to the



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Colonials, through the well organized system of which Paul Revere was the head, and Knox and others active workers. The second expedition began the revolution.

The day after the battle of Concord, Knox and his wife left Boston for the patriot army. The sword which he had worn in the Grenadier Corps was sewed up in the quilted lining of his wife's cloak. No soldier ever had a more martial bride. In spite of her family and the loss of everything dear to woman's heart, she was as resolute and fearless as her husband.

Knox's experience and skill now brought him into rapid prominence. Although he refused a commission from General Artemus Ward when he joined the Patriot Army, he nevertheless rose from the ranks into command as the days passed by. When the beseiging works around Boston were started his was the master mind that designed them and carried them into execution.

In June, the Continental Congress made Washington the Commander in chief of the Army, and Ward, Lee, Schuyler and Putnam, Major-generals. Knox, who seems to have had no ambition but to fight, made no effort for a commission, or for promotion. He was therefore surprised and delighted when in July, Washington inspected the fortifications and praised him more highly than had ever been done before. The great commander recognized the sterling manhood in the young engineer and formed for him at that time a friendship and affection which was to last as long as life. In a short time, social relations had opened between them and we find both Knox and his wife dining with Washing-

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ton. Knox kept busy at his work, of which the credit was taken apparently by the officers above him.

Merit will not stay down. In November, Washington wrote to Congress the following pithy note:

“The council of officers are unanimously of opinion that the command of the Artillery should no longer continue in Colonel Gridley; and knowing no person better qualified to supply his place, or whose appointment will give more general satisfaction, I have taken the liberty of recommending Henry Knox to the consideration of Congress.”

To increase the young artilleryman's pleasure several of his superior officers united in a request that he receive command of the Artillery Service, and that they be put under him. The same month, Congress acted upon Washington's request and made Knox a Colonel, which was followed by his appointment as Chief of the Artillery of the Continental Army. It was a bold move on the part of George Washington, but after events showed its wisdom. To take a man from the ranks, a mere bookseller, and put him at the head of one of the most important branches of the army, displacing men who had been professional soldiers, demanded as much courage as it did wisdom. Fortunately for the Colonies Washington possessed both. A bookseller in those years was a mere tradesman, and a tradesman was not and could not be a gentleman. The fact therefore that Knox won the confidence and love not only of Washington, but also of John Adams and other leaders at this time, speaks volumes for the force and beauty of his character.

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This was the year that Knox performed the wonderful feat of going from Boston to Fort Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain where were stored the mortars, cannon, and howitzers which had been captured by Ethan Allen, and bringing them across the ice and snow from that place to Boston. The task seemed impossible. Of the generals only Washington believed that Knox could and would do it. When therefore the intrepid colonel came back to the Heights and brought with him the noble train of artillery which he had promised, he was the hero of the hour. Adulation did not induce him to rest on his laurels. Scarcely more than arrived, he began mounting the artillery at the points where they could inflict a maximum of damage upon the British forces.

This re-enforcement enabled the American army to occupy and arm Dorchester Heights, which commanded the harbor. The work was done under plans drawn by Washington, Knox, Thomas and Ward. The British position was now untenable, and Lord Howe with his army sailed away to Halifax. Washington entered the city at the head of his troops, and with him rode his ablest lieutenant, the heroic commander of the artillery.

There was no rest for patriots in those days, and after the capture of Boston, Knox went to Connecticut and Rhode Island to design fortifications for the strategic points along the coast of these two Colonies. In June, 1776, he was with Washington in New York. Here he became acquainted with a handsome young captain of a local artillery company who was so bright, energetic and skilful as to arouse his

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admiration. He inquired the young man's name. It was Alexander Hamilton.

Here the Continentals awaited the approach of the British expedition that was to descend upon New York, Knox having his headquarters at No. 1 Broadway, where among his aides was his fair wife.

The Colonials had very little money, and in spite of the high position of her husband she was compelled to live as economically as possible. She accordingly dispensed with the rich raiment to which she had been accustomed from her infancy and wore a suit that was Puritanic in its simplicity and cheapness and military in its cut and finish. The defeat at the Battle of Long Island discouraged many of the American officers and generals, but not the men of larger mind like Washington and Knox. Immediately after that memorable conflict he wrote to his wife who was in Connecticut:

“We want great men who, when fortune frowns, will not be discouraged. God will I trust in time give us these men.  
\* \* \* It is, as I always said, misfortunes that must raise us to the character of a great people. One or two drubbings will be of service to us and one severe defeat to the enemy, ruin.”

He was voicing what fate had in store. The Continentals were to have not one or two, but very many drubbings, and then was to come the severe defeat of Yorktown and the ruin of British hopes and power in the New World. Through the dark years of the war Knox fought by Wash-

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ington's side. In December, 1776, he led the American troops in the memorable victory of Trenton, N. J., and the next day by an odd coincidence, although no news of his heroic prowess had reached Congress, that body made him a Brigadier General.

At the Battle of Princeton, he was foremost on the American side. When the army went into winter headquarters, Washington sent Knox to New England to supervise the casting of cannon and the establishment of powder factories. Upon his recommendation works were begun at Springfield, Mass., which developed into the famous arsenal in that city. To him, more than any other man, was due the founding of other military works, and more important still the establishment of the military academy at West Point. If that famous institution ever change its name, it should be called the Knox Military College by a grateful Republic. As early as September, 1776, he wrote to Congress a letter in which occur the memorable lines "And as officers can never act with confidence until they are masters of their profession, an academy establishment on a liberal plan would be of the utmost service to America, where the whole theory and practice of fortifications and gunnery should be taught."

In the winter of 1778-1779, Knox started a military instruction camp at Pluckemim, N. J. Here he had weapons of all sorts and a curriculum for officers, he being the chief if not the only professor. The innovation proved popular, every student commending it highly. This was the embryo of the military academy at West Point.

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In the councils of war between Washington, Rochambeau and La Fayette, Knox was a constant figure. He had mastered French while serving his apprenticeship in the Boston bookshop, and was one of the few officers who spoke it fluently. His geniality and tact made him *persona grata* with the French soldiers, who were always eager to have him act as interpreter in official dealings. In the writings of the French who took part in the war are to be found frequent and always adulatory references to General Knox.

During the campaign which culminated in the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, Knox seems to have been in evidence at every point. Both the American and French commanders speak in glowing terms of the manner in which he handled the American artillery. When the plans of co-operation were drawn on the flagship, the "Ville de Paris" of De Grasse's fleet, the leading persons were Admiral Rochambeau, Duportail and Chastellux on the French side, and Washington and Knox on the American. During this period Mrs. Knox was the guest of Mrs. Washington at Mount Vernon.

Congress, divided by intrigue and cross purposes, at last recognized Knox's heroic service, and made him a Major-General. Perhaps his highest compliment was a letter from Washington in 1782, in which the latter wrote "I have so thorough a confidence in you, and so well acquainted with your abilities and activity, that I think it needless to point out to you the great outlines of your duty."

Knox had just been appointed to command West Point in that district, then the most important strategic site in

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the arena of war. No higher praise than this could have been given. In April, 1783, Knox organized the Society of the Cincinnati, which was intended to perpetuate the friendships of the officers of the army, and to provide for their widows and children. The organization aroused the bitterest antagonism, even Adams and Franklin opposing it, upon the ground that it tended to injure the cause of liberty. At the close of the war Washington assigned to Knox the disbanding of the American army, and the occupation of New York, upon the evacuation of the British. On November 25, 1783, the army of the British king took its departure, and the American troops, with Knox on horseback at the head, entered the freed metropolis. On December 4th, Washington took leave of his generals at Fraunces, Tavern. After he had drunk their health in a glass of wine, and bade them all good-by, he turned to Knox, grasped his hand, and kissed him farewell.

The noble virtues displayed by Knox during the long years of the war made him equally prominent in the peaceful but troublous times that followed. Upon the new problems which presented themselves to the infant republic, Knox took high statesmanlike grounds. He favored the formation of a small regular army so as to be prepared for Indian uprisings or conflicts with foreign powers. He saw the future greatness of the west, and recommended the settling of officers and soldiers in a new state or states west of the Alleghanies. The work of disbanding kept on and in 1784, of the Colonial forces there were left less than seven hundred men.

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His work ended, he retired to private life and returned to Boston, where he received an ovation from the people. In the summer he was made an Indian Commissioner by the legislature, and also a Commissioner in regard to the boundary between Massachusetts and Nova Scotia, Maine at that time being a part of the Bay State.

In 1785, Congress elected him Secretary of War, with the notable salary of \$2,450 per annum, out of which he was to pay a clerk. During this period Knox was a persistent advocate for a change in the form of government, urging stronger authority and a more efficient Constitution. Before the adoption of the present system he sent to Washington a sketch of a bicameral National government, singularly similar to the one which was afterwards framed by the Constitutional Convention. When this body was proposed Washington was uncertain whether to attend it or not. The man of infinite patience seems to have lost confidence in Congress and in representative government. He felt like folding his hands and letting affairs take their own course. He wrote for advice to Knox, who answered with a letter full of courage, enthusiasm, confidence and love for his old commander.

The Constitution was adopted by the convention, and then by the States. George Washington was elected President, and as might have been expected made General Knox the first Secretary of War. His office was a larger one than it is at present. He was also Secretary of the Navy, Indian Commissioner and Pension Commissioner.

It was a very small country then. Knox kept the ac-



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counts of the Navy Department, which are still preserved. In 1793, the expense was \$7,550, where to-day it is sixty millions. In these years Knox appears to have been inspired with almost prophetic vision. He recommended the establishment of Indian reservations and a policy of absolute justice toward the redmen. He was resolute in favoring a large and powerful navy and the construction of forts at every important port on the Atlantic coast. Strangely enough in these measures he, though a Federalist, received his chief support from Thomas Jefferson, while from Hamilton and the other leaders of his party he had either the mildest acquiescence or downright opposition.

In 1794, he resigned his office and retired to private life. Settling at Thomaston, Me., he built a fine mansion which he named Montpelier. It cost \$15,000, a sum which at that time seemed incredibly extravagant. During the remaining years of his life, he was active in developing that part of Maine which he had made his home, and with rare insight started many of the industries which have since become the mainspring of that commonwealth's prosperity.

General Knox was essentially a great soldier. Of the many brilliant warriors of the Revolution he stands on a par with Washington and Schuyler. His martial talent was singularly versatile, probably more so than that of any other general. He was an engineer, an artilleryman, a commander, and a strategist. He was an expert in every branch of the service and invaluable to Washington and Rochambeau. Few beside himself among the military characters of the period appreciated the value of a naval armament

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or knew how to take advantage of this weapon of defense. In this respect Knox seems to have been abler than any of his colleagues. He was a statesman so far as the conception of great thoughts and plans for the public welfare were concerned. He was not a statesman so far as the carrying of these plans into practice was involved. He brought forth the conception and allowed others to utilize it for their own aggrandizement or for the people's well being. A fearless and uncompromising patriot, a gentle and loving husband and father, a staunch and resolute friend, a good and upright man, he realized to a large extent the ideal of an American soldier.

## ROBERT MORRIS.

*Born, January 31, 1734; Died, May 8, 1806.*

IN the complex organism of civilized national life are indispensable factors which possess little or no importance in less advanced communities. The army and navy, legislation and statesmanship, represent stages in growth, and beyond these comes what to-day is of equal moment, finance. The greatest distinction between a civilized and a semi-civilized people is the organization of the financial elements of the former. Ability in this field is deservedly esteemed and its possessor regarded as an equal of the general, admiral, statesman and jurist.

In the birth of the Republic the master of national finance was Robert Morris, of Philadelphia, merchant, legislator, signer of the Declaration of Independence, and financier of the Colonies during the Revolution. He was born in Liverpool, where his father conducted a small mercantile business, of which the chief feature was the agency of a tobacco house which imported large amounts of the leaf from Philadelphia and Baltimore. Business duties necessitated his visiting the Colonies every few years, during which time he formed a strong attachment for the newer England on this side of the Atlantic. His family was of Welsh origin an ancestor having come from Central Wales to Liverpool

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in the seventeenth century, from whom the Financier was descended.

Robert was a good, healthy specimen of young England. He loved to play, was faithful but not brilliant at school, and was both the joy and terror of his parents. A well defined vein of fun and mischief marked his character, but it was always mischief of a hilarious and never of a cruel type. In short he was just such a boy as may be found in ten thousand homes at the present time.

Probably to give peace to the household his father took the boy, when thirteen years old, with him upon one of his trips to the New World. The voyage was slow and uneventful. The young traveler made friends with the officers and sailors, from whom he heard stories numberless of the great woods, Indians, bears and panthers of the Colonies, and also the still wilder tales of mysterious cities, fantastic savage kings, monstrous animals, birds and reptiles which were universally believed in at that time. Upon arrival, he liked the freedom and rough life of the Colonies, and was only too glad when his father sent him to a boarding school conducted by the Rev. Mr. Gordon, a learned prelate who was both pedagogue and divine. The dominie was a broad-minded man who believed in the doctrine of *mens sana in corpore sano* and allowed his pupils the fullest liberty in open air sports and diversions. The system worked well, and his scholars turned out bright, intelligent, healthy young men.

At the age of fifteen his school career was cut short by the sudden death of his father, who died from injuries in-

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flicted to his shoulder by the wadding discharged from a cannon fired to salute him. The deceased left a small estate which was insufficient to have supported the son. Fortunately for him the authorities, who had charge of the affair, determined that he should enter commercial life. He was accordingly indentured to Charles Willing, a leading Philadelphia merchant, who had been the American correspondent of his father's house in Liverpool. The great banking system of the present time was then in its infancy, and all the leading merchants of the period were bankers on their own account, and often for the smaller houses around them. The Willing house transacted a large business in this field, so that the clerks received a thorough training in both mercantile and financial work. While little has come down of his services in the establishment, he must have displayed unusual ability and application, for on the retirement of Charles Willing, he formed a partnership with Thomas Willing, his employer's son. Robert was scarcely in his majority. When therefore the father advanced the necessary capital, he must have been convinced of the probity and promise of the youth.

The young concern made a specialty of the West Indian trade, in which they reaped handsome profits. On several voyages Morris went out as supercargo of the ship, during which time he made many careful studies of the English, Spanish and French West Indies, and compiled information of benefit to his own house, and as was proved long afterwards to the American nation.

On one of these journeys, during the Seven Years' War,

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his vessel was captured by a French privateer. Everything that he had was taken from him. So ruthless was sea-fighting in those days, that the captors compelled him to strip and give them his clothes and put on the discarded garments of a sailor. On arrival at a French port, he was thrown into jail and treated as a common criminal. He won the affections of the jailor by his ingenuity and versatility, and picked up enough of the language to make himself understood. This knowledge he utilized in every way, helping to cook, carpenter and repair clocks and watches. By degrees he made a little money during his captivity whereby he was enabled to bribe the guard and convey the news of his duress to his partner. Negotiations were opened and resulted in his liberation. In after life the great financier took pleasure in telling how he had been a jailbird and had escaped by his bungling skill as a watchmaker.

A staunch supporter of the British Crown in the French War, he was equally determined in upholding the cause of the Colonies against that Crown when it began the sombre course of oppression and wrong. In 1765, he and his partner joined the non-importation and anti-consumption league, and he was an important member of the committee which waited upon the Stamp Distributor of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia, and by dire threats frightened that official from the further administration of his office. He does not seem to have taken any great part in public affairs, caring little for political agitation and devoting all his time to business, in which his firm were now prospering to a high degree.

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Yet he was intensely patriotic and outspoken in regard to his convictions. He contributed largely to the various committees, and was viewed as a tower of strength by his fellow citizens. As the political storm deepened, he devoted more and more time to public duties. In June, 1775, the patriot leaders desired to make the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety as strong in its personnel as possible, and asked him to join the body. Great was their surprise and pleasure when the merchant without a moment's hesitation thanked them for the appointment and accepted it forthwith. He served upon the Committee with marked ability, bringing to bear his high mercantile talent. He was also an officer of the sub-committee, whose mission was the importation of arms and ammunition. This was a very difficult task, the traffic being prohibited by law, and ships engaged in carrying the prohibited goods liable to seizure and confiscation. Morris nevertheless undertook the labor and through his businesslike organization achieved notable results.

He used his own ships and employees to obtain material in the West Indies and even in England itself. Here the knowledge he had gained as supercargo proved invaluable. He knew where the supplies were to be secured, and by buying reasonable amounts at each place purporting to be for his own use he managed to accumulate considerable quantities, which he handed over to the Colonial leaders without arousing suspicion as to his actions. The success endeared him to his colleagues, who in October brought about his election to the Pennsylvania Assembly. This body in turn

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appointed him a delegate to the Continental Congress of 1775 along with Edward Biddle, John Dickinson, Andrew Allen, Benjamin Franklin, Joseph Galloway, Charles Humphreys, Thomas Mifflin, John Morton, Samuel Rhodes, George Ross, and Thomas Willing, his partner. In view of its Quaker character, Pennsylvania certainly eclipsed all the other commonwealths at this juncture.

So manfully did Morris enter into the discharge of his official duties that his business suffered seriously. Pecuniary loss did not deter him in the least. Most of his working time he devoted to the local Committee of Safety, the Congressional Secret Committee and the Congressional Committee of Secret Correspondence. Though a staunch patriot, he was marked by the caution which distinguishes the financier. As late as July 10, 1776, he believed that the English government would see the error of its ways, redress the grievances of the Colonies and restore their former liberties and rights. Not until Lord Howe armed with apparently plenary authority from the British government had made final overtures, which to Morris's mind were equivalent to commercial and political slavery, did he realize the baselessness of his beliefs. Then, and not till then, did he become an uncompromising advocate of war. Thus, although he voted against the resolution in favor of independence and absented himself from the roll call on the fourth of July, 1776, he signed the Declaration of Independence on August 2nd, after it had been engrossed. Though elected by the people to the Assembly, and though required by extensive mercantile interests to attend to his



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private business, he spent all his time upon national affairs. During the war of the Revolution he was the one great man in the council as Washington was in the field.

In the roar and bitterness of politics and battle he never lost his head and seems to have made few mistakes in his estimates of men and things.

He recognized from the first the superiority of Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Jay, Hamilton, Adams, Schuyler, and Sherman. Like Washington, he seems to have been deceived by Silas Deane.

In the bitter struggle in Pennsylvania over the State Constitution, in which that Commonwealth was split into Constitutionalists and Republicans, he took no part, declaring that the interests of the Colonies at large so far transcended those of any one as to make the latter insignificant. In the dark days of the conflict he never lost courage. When the conspiracy was formed to degrade Washington, he was one of the few strong men who stood by the leader. When Congress pusillanimously ran away from Philadelphia to Baltimore upon the rumor of the approach of the British Army, he remained at Philadelphia at the head of the Committee which was left behind, and of this committee he was not alone chairman but the only member of genuine power and activity. When other people proved incompetent, he took up their work.

We find his hand in almost all the business of importance outside of the military operations. He dispatched and even fitted up privateers, sent American produce to foreign lands, and with the proceeds raised money for the empty Colonial

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purse, secured loans, gifts, and advancement, provided for the secret service, maintained spies, provisioned and clothed the Continental armies, corresponded with the leaders in each Commonwealth, conducted a voluminous record of all official work, instituted plans for the better management of affairs, and suggested improvements in the Colonial system. The greatest obstacle he encountered lay in the zeal with which his fellow countrymen tried to apply the town meeting method to general government, and the abject fear they displayed respecting innovations which savored of monarchy.

At the outbreak of the Revolution, and in fact until the adoption of the Federal Constitution in 1787, the public believed in government by committees. Thus, as a matter of fact Morris was the Secretary of the Treasury during the long and weary years of his service; as a matter of law he was simply a member of one or more Committees. The other members did very little and frequently undid what he had accomplished. As early as 1776 he advocated the employment of competent men, at proper salaries, as the heads of the various departments. This businesslike proposition was received with contempt and execration. Some went so far as to accuse him of being a monarchist in disguise. Nor was this the only obstacle. Small minded merchants asserted that he made use of his official position to help along his business and told lying tales about the vast profits he had made. Politicians who desired contracts, positions and other official favors endeavored to undermine and replace him with a more pliable man. To cap the climax his own

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half-brother, who was acting as a government agent abroad, engaged in the wildest dissipation and debauchery, and had to be dismissed from the public service. There was something singularly impressive and almost pathetic in Morris's attitude. He never faltered and never expressed the slightest evidence of discouragement. When he made mistakes, he apologized manfully and corrected them to the best of his ability.

Within the patriot ranks chaos prevailed in regard to the national fiscal system. Congress truckled to the mob which moblike demanded all sorts of absurd laws respecting trade, prices, embargoes, tariffs, and fiat money. In these matters Morris's position was one which will command the respect of posterity. He opposed paper money, legal-tender laws and all restrictions of commerce. His attitude was not enviable so far as popularity was concerned. Every demagogue denounced him and accused him of peculating from the public treasury.

The State Constitution prevented his re-election to Congress in 1779, and then the fiscal affairs of the nation had to be transacted without his hand at the helm. The result was the best answer possible to his numberless enemies. The theories which he had fought, now had full opportunity to work out their own ruinous ends, and the men who had thrown mud at his towering figure had a chance to exercise their littleness. The country went from bad to worse, and at last sunk into the sea of bankruptcy. People turned toward Morris as their only hope. The very men in Congress who had opposed him were but too glad to invite him

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to take his former position. Ordinary pride and self respect would have brought forth a prompt refusal to their advances, but Morris was no ordinary man. Above all personality rose his love of liberty and of right. He accepted the responsibility but not upon the foolish basis of an irresponsible and chaotic Committee. Congress accordingly appointed him Superintendent of Finance in February, 1781.

The official name was too long for the common people. They simplified it to Financier. He became "Robert Morris the Financier," and under this title he will go down to posterity. In December, 1781, he organized the Bank of North America, which opened its doors the next month. This institution did good service for the government and was a notable innovation in the financial world of the time.

It gave aid to both the State and the mercantile community. During all the sombre period when the nation had neither money nor credit Morris drew largely upon his own great fortune and used it for the general good. How much he employed will never be known. One characteristic of his superb personality was his never alluding to his personal sacrifices and sufferings. Not until September, 1784, when the country was at peace did he lay down his superintendency and devote himself again to private affairs. Of his management, the best practical compliment was paid by two delegates from Massachusetts in Congress: "It cost Congress," said they, "at the rate of eighteen million, per annum, hard dollars to carry on the war till Morris was chosen Financier, and then it cost but about five millions."

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At this period (1785) Morris betrayed symptoms of despair at the future of the Republic he had helped to build. A strong central government, which he knew to be necessary, seemed further off than ever. Each colony was an *imperium in imperio*, and everywhere were evidences of a dissociating tendency toward breaking up each in turn into still smaller political units. The general government was despised abroad and laughed at at home. It was in fact a travesty upon government, and it justified the derision which the mere mention of its name excited in every court of Europe. Though discouraged, hope remained, and he spoke and wrote in advocacy of a reformation of the central authority. Hundreds of patriots were developing along this same line, and in 1786 came the call, to him exceedingly welcome, for the Annapolis Convention. Although this seemed to be a comparative failure, yet through the genius of Hamilton, Madison and others, it proved the stepping stone to the Constitutional Convention of 1787. This body assembled, and high up on its roster roll was Robert Morris, to whom belonged the unique honor of having signed the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and at the close of this convention the Federal Constitution.

It was a bitter battle, and one contended by giants. In that great conflict, the Pennsylvanian delegation held the balance of power, and carried the day for the present Union. It was marshalled by its greatest men, Franklin and Morris being the leaders, and Gouverneur Morris, Thomas Mifflin, and George Clymer their lieutenants. In the proceedings

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and out, Morris labored tirelessly for a virile government to take the place of the anarchy under which all were suffering.

Rather than lose the principles in which he believed, he was willing to compromise, and in fact did join Roger Sherman and the other compromise-men to bring about the final passage of the instrument.

Upon the adoption of the Constitution he was elected a member from Pennsylvania of the first United States Senate, which post he retained until 1795. On the organization of the government by General Washington, the President offered him the position of Secretary of the Treasury. Morris declined the offer, and was then requested by Washington "to name a gentleman for the office." To the surprise of all, including Washington, he nominated Alexander Hamilton. When some one suggested that Hamilton was a soldier, lawyer, and orator, but not a financier, Morris bowed and declared that of his own knowledge he knew General Hamilton to be thoroughly competent and admirably fitted for the position. It was upon this recommendation that the nomination of the great Federalist was made by the President and concurred in by the Senate.

On the expiration of his senatorial term he refused further public honors and again retired to private life.

In his old age he speculated in western land upon a vast scale. He foresaw the future value of the western territory and knew that the time was not far when the owner of the fertile wilderness, which could then be bought as low as twenty-five cents an acre, would be a proprietor richer than

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the world had ever known. His speculations were premature, and as a result his fortune was swept away and he sent to the debtors' jail in February, 1798. In adversity, his supreme self-control never broke down. He wrote humorous accounts of his prison life to friends, and on one occasion composed a verse of funny doggerel on the topic.

In the summer of that year the yellow fever invaded the land and claimed its harvest in Philadelphia. The scourge entered the jail and took away half of the poor debtors. Morris nursed them, and complained but once, and that was when his wife and daughter insisted upon coming into his cell in spite of his prohibition. The friends of his prosperity vanished, but a few remained true. Chief among these was George Washington, who called upon him in prison and brought him delicacies. Morris was too proud to accept favors, and the only thing the President could do for him was to invite Mrs. Morris to Mount Vernon, with an assurance "of the affectionate regard of General and Mrs. Washington for Robert Morris."

Gouverneur Morris was another staunch friend, who called upon the prisoner and tried to alleviate his unfortunate position. The great financier was confined until August 26, 1801, three years six months and ten days.

The last five years of his life he was very poor, but was aided by Gouverneur Morris, Alexander Hamilton and other friends. His wife was Mary White, daughter of Colonel Thomas White of Maryland, by whom he had seven children, five boys and two girls. Three of the former and the two latter survived him.

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Among the Builders of the Republic, Robert Morris will always hold a foremost rank. There was a certain roundness or symmetry in his character which when he was alive won the respect of all who knew him, and after his demise the admiration of all students of his career. Successful as a business man and banker, he developed at an early age the qualities which make one a master of high finance. No one in those years could see more clearly the value of knowledge from a purely material standpoint as well as on account of its own intrinsic worth. Among the merchants of his time he was looked upon as a wonder on account of his thorough familiarity with the commercial conditions and relations of other lands, ports and seas. He carried apparently at his finger tips the latest news of every market, and even the movements of trading craft along the coast and across the ocean. He had a profound knowledge of national and international finance, and put it to quick use the moment the American government came to depend upon him and his work.

A fluent speaker and writer he had the greater gift of knowing when to remain silent. Taking part in many debates of exciting interest he spoke but seldom, and then calmly and sagaciously to the point at issue. Slow to form convictions, quick to acknowledge errors, he possessed the courage to conform conduct to belief, no matter what the cost. His faith in law and principle was immovable. At the beginning of the Revolution he hoped for peace, and believed that wrong would be righted by pacific instrumentalities. When this was found impossible, he embraced war,



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knowing that in spite of its horrors it would bring about that which peace had denied.

Where he had faith in men, he allowed nothing to intervene between them and himself. When Washington and the other leaders called upon him his response was immediate. To the appeal which Washington made when the Connecticut troops had threatened to go home because they were starving, his answer was the prompt forwarding of three million rations of which the cost had been largely defrayed from his own pocket.

That his fortune should have been swept away in his old age was an event which may occur to any one, who does business upon an immense scale. That he should have made so gigantic a mistake is pitiable, but involves no element of censure. If the factor of time be eliminated, his land investments were marked by a statesmanlike wisdom. The great territory which he at one time owned is now the home of millions and represents a wealth one hundred times greater than the entire value of the Union when he made the investment. In the last years of his life his financial vision had become impaired and was no longer truthful. Through his dauntless courage, his infinite patience and energy, his consecration of self to country and his giant ability, the United States is a debtor forever.

# JOHN HANCOCK

*Born, January 12, 1737; Died, October 8, 1793.*

**T**HE glory of the American Revolution was that it expressed the feeling of a community and not that of any single class. The civil wars of history have been produced by clashing interests or conflicting ambitions, by intrigues of politicians or the martial instincts of great captains, by religious fanaticism or racial and blood feuds. The uprising of the American colonies was a protest against tyranny and misgovernment, in which the soldier, statesman, lawyer, writer, farmer, and merchant came together and made common cause. Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, Hamilton, Schuyler, Adams and Sherman may be considered exponents of specific social types. Of the great mercantile community which played so important a part in the life and death struggle of the eighteenth century, John Hancock was the foremost exponent.

As a boy in Quincy, Mass., where he was born, John Hancock enjoyed nearly all the advantages which were possible in the first part of the eighteenth century. His heredity was of the best sort. From the time of their settlement in the New World his forbears were marked by intellectuality, piety and worldly wisdom. His grandfather, who bore the same name, was a Harvard graduate, and a famous clergyman from 1697 to 1752. His uncle



### THE HANCOCK MANSION

*Built by Thomas Hancock in 1737 and inherited by Governor John Hancock. This is the house in which Hancock died and in which he lay in state. The building was taken down in 1863.*

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Ebenezer and his father, John Hancock II, were also eminent members of the sacred calling. His uncle Thomas was a distinguished Boston merchant, who was wealthy, philanthropic and public-spirited. By a curious coincidence his father at the same period baptized both John and another little child, whose name John Adams, was to be linked with his in the annals of their country. When the boy was but seven he lost his father and was adopted by his Uncle Thomas. His boyish beauty and lovable traits had won the hearts of both uncle and aunt, who had no children of their own. They lavished upon him the affection which fate had not allowed to be bestowed upon their own flesh and blood. The boy proved worthy of their devotion, and through life afforded them all the joy which parents receive in the successful development and achievement of their children.

A child with a weak moral nature might have been spoiled in the luxurious home of the wealthy merchant, but in Hancock's case it seemed to do no harm, but only good in opening to him every channel along which his nature tended to grow. He made good use of his opportunities. He walked, rode and drove, and played with as much juvenile enthusiasm as the healthiest street boy. It is recorded that he was similarly skilful in the construction of mud pies and the building of snow forts, that his kites flew truer and higher than those of his playmates, and that the boats he whittled from the heavy shingles of that period weathered more storms and hard usage than all the rival craft.

He was as popular with the girls as with boys. At the

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age of seven he was, according to family tradition, noted for his chivalry, and had won the admiration of the mothers of his fair playmates. On one occasion he carried a little girl across a marshy path which had been flooded after a heavy rain and landed her dry on the opposite side while his own nether limbs were bars of mud. As he was dressed in the fashionable style of that period with a little velvet coat, brightly colored knee pants and rich knitted stockings, he must have made a very striking picture, when he reached home. He explained his discomfiture to his foster parents, and they not only approved his action but presented him with a new shilling as a reward for his politeness. His educational progress was rapid. An old account, which has been preserved, shows him to have been considerably ahead of youths of his age, for when he was scarcely in his teens there was an entry, "One Hammond's algebra to John—9s. 7d." This was a large volume which was the standard work for the Boston Latin school and Harvard college. He made a good record in both institutions, and was graduated from the latter in 1754.

At college, although on account of his uncle's wealth and his father's profession, he occupied the first social rank, he was modest and retiring. He belonged to the studious rather than the social set. His scholarship, fine address and interesting speech caused his relatives to wish him to enter the ministry, thus following the example of his father and grandfather. His uncle Thomas, with good judgment, allowed the boy to choose his own career. To his delight upon graduation, John immediately applied for and ob-

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tained a junior clerkship in the uncle's counting house. This had been the old man's hope from the first. He had intended the boy to be his successor, but with the deep affection of his nature he had not evinced this desire unless it may have been in some casual remark. According to a family letter the uncle had yielded on one occasion to the entreaties of Lydia, his wife, and other female relatives, and had recommended the pulpit to his nephew. With this exception his attitude was that of giving the youth the fullest liberty in regard to the choice of a vocation.

At the age of eighteen John began life's work at the bottom of the commercial ladder. His preparation had been of the best kind. Outside of the excellent education he had received, his home influences had been inspiring and ennobling. Both uncle and aunt lived according to their social rank, so that the atmosphere of the house was literary, refined and liberal. It was artistic so far as there were æsthetic conditions in those days. The parlors of the home, which occupied a fine site in Boston, were frequented by Harvard professors, clergymen, merchants, lawyers and high officials. The family were Congregationalists of the liberal school, and took a lively interest in public affairs. They were thoroughly in touch with events both at home and in the Mother country. Proceedings in parliament received the same consideration and discussion at their table as those at Washington do in American families to-day.

In his mercantile career, he applied the same principles to his daily conduct as he had in college. He was assiduous, thoughtful and polite. The people in his uncle's estab-

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lishment, which was one of the largest in Boston, soon came to like him heartily. He looked after the welfare of the captains and the crews of the ships with which the house was identified, and without knowing it became exceedingly popular with the maritime element in Boston life, then one of its most important factors. His progress in business was rapid according to the standards of those days, where seven year apprenticeships and ten year clerkships were matters of common occurrence. At the end of six years, he received the high compliment of being selected to represent the house in London. Partly to express his affection and partly to uphold the dignity of his firm, Thomas Hancock sent the nephew upon the voyage under the best auspices he could command. The journey was made under the patronage of Governor Thomas Pownall; a special cabin was fitted up and a wardrobe supplied which would have suited a wealthy nobleman. The London correspondents were requested to extend every courtesy to the young man, so that upon his arrival in London he was received in a manner which must have both pleased and surprised him. In the British capital he was taken to the chief places of interest and introduced to the best society. While there, he witnessed the Coronation of George III, and was presented to that monarch. The king must have been pleased with this handsome and elegant New Englander, for he honored him with a gold snuff box. This is another illustration of the irony of fate, for within the next twenty years, the same hand was to write the words, "S. Adams and his tool John Hancock."



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We may well wonder if in the angry hours of the Revolution, when George III demanded that Hancock be brought to London and his traitorous head exposed upon Temple Bar, he recalled the stately, well bred youth who had charmed him in 1760 and 1761. After his return to Boston in 1762, he displayed even greater zeal and on Christmas day received as a gift from his uncle a partnership interest in the house. On New Year's day the latter sent to his correspondents the following letter announcing the fact:

“BOSTON, *January* 1st, 1763.

“Gentn: I am to acquaint you, that I have at last Got my affairs into such a Scituation, as that I have this Day Taken my nephew Mr. John Hancock, into Partnership with me, having had long experience of his Uprightness, & great Abilities for business, as that I can heartily Recommend him to Your friendship and Correspondence, which wish may be long and happy. You will therefore Cause my private acco'tt to be Settled & the Balance that may happen on either Side Carried to the Company Acco'tt. and what Goods I have wrote for, to be Charged to Thomas Hancock and Company mark'd T. I. & H. & Consigned to Thomas Hancock and Company.”

The business relations of the house are of great importance in studying the career of the statesman. A large source of revenue to the firm was in supplying the British garrisons in the New World. They had made this a specialty, and developed an ingenious system whereby they had come to control the market. The profits were very

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heavy and by combining their interests in America, the West Indies and England they were able to do their own exchanging and still further increase the returns. This should be borne in mind, in measuring the sacrifice which John Hancock deliberately made when he espoused the cause of liberty. He cheerfully relinquished even before the Revolution began a business and an income so valuable as to be regarded as a prize of the first order in the commercial world of the colonies.

During this period Hancock became a warm friend of James Otis, who was the firm's lawyer and the house took pains to recommend him professionally to all its correspondents. The two friends were notable for their elegance in an age when men dressed with a richness and variety of raiment unknown at the present time. Though Otis was stylishly attired his appearance was plainness itself alongside of Hancock. The merchant prince wore a shirt of the finest linen trimmed with ruffles of point lace, and in the centre of the bosom a magnificent brooch. His coat was of bright colored broadcloth, richly trimmed with gold lace and ornamented with double and treble lace ruffles at the wrist. His breeches were of emerald or scarlet velvet or else white, lilac, violet or blue satin, and his shoes which were hand-sewed had the fronts half-covered with enormous gold buckles. At his side was a rapier with a jeweled handle and a chased and burnished sheath. On his head was a noble wig and over this a three-cornered velvet hat caught up on one side by a brooch, smaller but as beautiful as the one that gleamed upon his breast.

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Thomas, the merchant died in 1764, leaving his nephew a large share of his fortune which was estimated in those days at over seventy thousand pounds sterling, and also the business which must have been of even greater value. Now that he was the sole owner, the young man displayed even greater commercial ability than he had done while a partner. He enlarged the field of his operations and seems to have extended his labors as a banker in many directions. Profits were large in banking in those days, nearly all the money and credit being in London, and the bankers of the latter city demanding larger returns from Colonial ventures than from loans at home. Hancock having a heavy capital, which in these days would have been not less than a half a million dollars, and also having what was of far greater importance the highest credit possible in the Colonies, was able to secure business which would otherwise have gone to London, or else have staggered along the best it could without financial assistance. Of the business correspondence which has been preserved many communications contain allusions as to drafts ranging all the way up into thousands of pounds.

In 1765 the town meeting elected him a Selectman. This was the year when the Stamp Act was passed, and Hancock was one of the first merchants to raise his voice in protest against that measure.

In September, he was the leading spirit at the town meeting in Faneuil Hall, which voted that instructions be given to the town representatives in the General Assembly in regard to the Stamp Act and other grievances and ap-

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pointed John Hancock one of the Committee to draft the same. Many of the merchants of that time were so swayed by the commercial spirit that they refused to express any opinions upon political measures, lest they should incur official resentment and so injure their trade. Not so with Hancock. In private conversation at the town meeting and in the sessions of the Selectmen, he denounced the arbitrary measures, and in his correspondence with his factors in England, he never wearied in urging them to aid the Colonies in having the act repealed. He was threatened with the loss of his government contracts, but paid no attention to the warning.

The fact of the young merchant being among the leaders of the Anti-Stamp party was quickly known throughout the Colonies, and thereafter in England. To the Tories he was at that time a larger figure upon the political horizon than any other Colonial. Otis and Samuel Adams were looked at, the one as a poor lawyer who acted as Hancock's employee, and the other as a needy adventurer, who depended upon Hancock's bounty. The Selectmen and the popular leaders were summed up derisively as "Hancock and his Crew." It was several years before this was changed to "S. Adams and his tool John Hancock."

Each epithet reveals the inability of the Tory mind to estimate either the character of the two men or the significance of the events in which they were actors. The spirit of the merchant was well expressed at this time in a letter sent by Boston to Plymouth, drawn by a Committee of which Hancock and Samuel Adams were members. Its

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conclusion may have been dictated by Hancock himself, so closely does it resemble the sentiments expressed in other letters which have been preserved. "That the spirit of our venerable forefathers may revive and be diffused through every community in this Land; that Liberty, Civil and Religious, the grand Object of their View, may still be felt, enjoyed and vindicated by the present Generation, and the fair Inheritance transmitted to our latest Posterity, is the fervent wish of the Metropolis."

The following year (1766) with James Otis, Samuel Adams and Thomas Cushing, he was sent as a delegate to the Massachusetts House of Representatives, then known as the General Court. It may be noted that his best friends were now Samuel Adams, John Adams, and James Otis. These with other notable men of that time met regularly in his handsome parlors, where they discussed both local and Colonial affairs. This was really the beginning of his political, and it might be added of his patriotic career. He devoted, daily, much time to his public duties, which was of course at the expense of his business.

Seeing that his people were in debt to the British merchants, he urged upon them retrenchment and economy, although the course of action he advised necessarily decreased the transactions of his own house. Perceiving that there was too much inebriety, he counselled greater moderation in the use of all liquors which likewise meant a diminution of the imports in which his firm was engaged. As was justly remarked by a critic of the time, "Hancock's po-

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sition was unique in that his patriotism meant everything to lose and nothing to gain." His position grew more and more arduous as the months went by. The Stamp Act was repealed, but the Revenue Acts of 1767 were equally objectionable and irritating to the populace. The people grew restive and disorder was common, threatening to become riot and mob-law. Upon Hancock was the double duty of protecting the people against England and of protecting them against themselves. That he was efficient along both lines of action is evident from the Tory epigram which said, "Boston is ruled by a trained mob of which James Otis and Samuel Adams are the two consuls, Joseph Warren one of the chiefs, and John Hancock, having great wealth and social and commercial influence, the real leader."

Political gloom deepened and affected society and commerce. Though Hancock's business began to dwindle, it never modified his conduct. In fact, he grew more uncompromising and defiant. He was not an orator like Otis or Samuel Adams, but his courage and calmness impressed the people as deeply as their eloquence. He was elected Colonel of Cadets, although he knew but little of military affairs, and promptly took up the study of tactics. Governor Gage removed him from his command as a token of resentment against his attitude toward the Crown. The Cadets to their credit, be it said, immediately held a meeting and unanimously disbanded sending their colors to the Governor. This was but one mark of the hold Hancock now had upon the Boston heart. At one election, out of four hundred and nineteen votes, he received all but two. So

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esteemed were his services, that he was invited to attend every meeting, to become a member of every committee, and to be speaker at every public function. His counting rooms saw less and less of him, and the duties of his business were by degrees transferred to his employees.

He served in the last Colonial legislature, the memorable one where Samuel Adams locked the door and put the key in his pocket. The conflict between Crown and Colony had begun and in the fiercest center of activity was Hancock. An act of Parliament was passed aiming a death blow at the town meeting. The new law forbade their being called without a special license from the Governor. Hancock and Samuel Adams immediately called the attention of the citizens to the attack upon their liberties, and recommended that thereafter the town meeting should never adjourn *sine die* or end, but should adjourn from time to time forever. This made the institution perpetual without violating the law. The General Court had been dissolved, but ninety of the members, under Hancock's guidance met, resolved themselves into a Provincial Congress and made him chairman. This Congress appointed a special Committee, which was to do most of the labor of the general body of which in turn he was chairman. Thus as member he drew the reports, as committee chairman, he delivered them officially, as Congressional chairman he received them, and then forwarded them attested, under his own official seal.

At the Second Provincial Congress which opened at Cambridge February 1, 1775, he was unanimously elected presi-

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dent, and as might be expected a member of the chief working committee. He made the motion that the secretary write to Colonel Roberson for the four brass field-pieces and the two brass mortars in the latter's hands, which were the property of the province. This gave a legal right for action and was undoubtedly framed by Hancock for that purpose, and not to secure the things themselves, which he knew would soon be confiscated by Governor Gage. The moment therefore the motion was passed a party of patriots acting under Hancock's orders seized the guns and conveyed them to a place of safety. These were the entire armament of the American Army at the outbreak of the war in April, 1775. Two of the cannon appropriately christened "Hancock" and "Adams" are now on the wall inside of the Summit of Bunker Hill Monument. This Provincial Congress elected him a delegate to the Second Continental Congress. Hancock's journey from New York to Philadelphia was a strange medley of events. At the start he and Samuel Adams were fugitives, pursued by soldiers, who had warrants for their arrest and deportation to England, where they were to be tried for high treason. At the next stage we find them in safety, but feeling blue and depressed over the thought that the people were lukewarm in the cause. In the third stage they began to realize the strength of the movement which they were leading and the firm hold they had upon the public heart, and in the fourth stage at New York, they were the heroes of a triumphant ovation. At Kingsbridge, they were received by delegates from Massachusetts and Connecticut, a delegation of New



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York leaders and a well equipped guard of soldiers. They were entertained at a banquet, and from Kingsbridge to New York their march was a procession. At Yorkville, they paused to exchange greetings with a company of grenadiers, a regiment of city militia, hundreds of gentlemen in carriages or on horseback and thousands of persons on foot. "Here," observes Hancock, "was the greatest cloud of dust I ever saw."

The carriage was stopped about Canal street and an enthusiastic contingent of several hundred provided with gaily ribboned ropes insisted upon taking the horses out and dragging the two vehicles containing the delegates down to Fraunces' tavern. Hancock, who disliked such ceremony, objected strongly and compromised the matter by delivering a speech to them upon the duties of the hour. From New York to Philadelphia, he was accompanied by Samuel and John Adams, Thomas Cushing, Robert Treat Paine, Roger Sherman and Silas Deane. At Philadelphia, he found that his fame had preceded him. The leading men in Congress came forward and introduced themselves and one another to the great Boston merchant. Of the men from Massachusetts, he appears to have enjoyed the largest popularity. The fact that he, the wealthiest and most aristocratic merchant of Boston had from the very first espoused the side of the people in the contest endeared him to the delegates from the other Colonies, who already had begun to realize that there was a large Tory element in the commercial classes of the land. Other elements tended to make him prominent in the Congress. He was one of the best

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educated men there, and had the high breeding which comes from wealth, travel, and intercourse with the best society of Boston and London. His hospitality was known to all and he was not suspected of asceticism and religious intolerance. The Congress admired the two Adams and Roger Sherman, but did not entertain for them at first, the same social affection that they did for Hancock. Probably what warmed every heart was the proclamation of General Gage offering pardon to all rebels excepting John Hancock and Samuel Adams, "whose offences are of too flagitious a nature to admit of any other consideration than that of condign punishment."

This undoubtedly induced the Congress to make him their president when Peyton Randolph of Virginia retired. Benjamin Harrison, who conducted Hancock to the presidential chair, remarked "We will show Britain how much we value her proscriptions."

As presiding officer he merited the praise which the Congress afterwards bestowed upon him. One of the first actions was the naming of Washington as Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army. A friendship grew up between the two men which was manifested years afterwards when the merchant named his son, John George Washington Hancock.

He served as president from May 17, 1775, until October, 1777. The Declaration of Independence in its first form bore only his name as President. He was a member from 1777 to 1780 and again served from 1785 to 1786. Seventeen hundred and eighty saw him a member of the Massa-

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achusetts Constitutional Convention. In that year he became Governor of his State, and held the office until 1785. He was again elected in 1787, and was Chief Executive until his death six years afterwards. In Congress, when it was proposed to bombard and if necessary to destroy Boston he, although the largest property owner in that city, said, "Burn Boston and make John Hancock a beggar if the public good requires it."

His wife was Dorothy Quincy, whom he married on August 28, 1775. She was comely, clever, and as patriotic as her husband. Much of their correspondence has been preserved and shows both in the happiest lights. The statesman-merchant was a lover in whom sentiment and strong common sense were curiously and often humorously blended, as may be noticed in the following excerpts:

PHILADELPHIA, 11th March, 1777.

9 o'clock evening.

My DEAREST DOLLY: No Congress to-day, and I have been as busily employed as you can conceive; quite lonesome & in a domestick scituation that ought to be Relieved as speedily as possible, this Relief depends upon you, and the greater Dispatch you make & the sooner you arrive here, the more speedy will be my relief. I dispatched Harry, McClosky & Dennis this morning with Horses and a waggon as winged Messengers to bring you along. God grant you a speedy and safe journey to me. \* \* \* \* \*

If in the prosecution of your journey you can avoid lodging at the head of Elk, I wish you would, it is not so good

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as the other houses but this must depend on Circumstances ; I wish to make your journey as agreeable as possible, Should any Gentlemen and Ladies accompany you out of town do send McClosky forward to order a Handsome dinner and I beg you will pay every Expencc ; order McClosky to direct the Landlord not to Receive a single farthing from any one but by your Direction and order a genteel Dinner ; plenty

——— Am I not to have another letter from you, surely I must \* \* \* I wish I could do better for you, but we must Ruff it \* \* \* The Opinion of Some seems to be that the Troops will leave New York, where bound none yet know ; one thing I know that they can't at present come here, perhaps they are going to Boston or up North River. Time will discover. Never fear ; we shall get the day finally with the Smiles of Heaven. Do take precious care of our dear little Lydia. Adieu, I long to see You ; Take care of Yourself ; I am

My Dear Girl

Yours Most Affectionately

JOHN HANCOCK.

While a merchant rather than a statesman, a scholar than a soldier, a patriot than a politician, yet in following out his views of duty, he achieved results apparently expressive of each type of character. His virtues served as a governor upon the engine of politics. His application of business principles tended to correct the creations of theorists and dreamers and his knowledge and culture to countervail the views of the military and political mind. He was one of the great personalities whose influence, conservative

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as well as creative, aimed to preserve all that was good in the old and to accept nothing new unless it contained absolute merit. In following out the dictates of the commercial mind he performed work meriting the name of high statesmanship. The beauty of his character illuminated his life, private and public. Every man is an example, and the higher the pedestal upon which fortune places him, the farther reaching his influence for good and evil. John Hancock's influence made altogether for the right. Of the fifty-six signatures upon the Declaration of Independence, his is the most distinct and prominent, and of the thousands of patriots of that period, he stands out distinct and prominent by reason of many virtues and perfect manhood.

## PAUL JONES

*Born, July 6, 1747; Died, July 18, 1792.*

**T**HE most romantic and dramatic character in the history of the Republic, if not of the world, is Paul Jones, privateersman, and founder of the American navy.

His parents were John Paul, a Lowlander, and Jennie MacDuff, a Highlander. They lived in the village of Arbikland, Kirkbean parish, Kirkcudbright county, in the southwest of Scotland. Their poor little cottage overlooked the beautiful waters of Solway Firth. The surrounding country tended to evolve a stern manhood. Although nature wore her fairest aspect, yet in her gifts she was extremely niggard. To the southwest, beyond the Firth were the shores of Cumberland, and to the west were the hills which lay between the village and Castle Douglas. To the east, in clear weather could be seen the southern coast of Dumfries, whose rich farms put to shame the sterile fields of Kirkbean and the neighboring parishes. The environment tended to make strong minds and strong bodies. When to this was added the more powerful influence of race, the results were bound to be notable.

The father, John Paul, was a gardener, farm laborer and fisherman. By the hardest work he managed to earn enough to support his family of four sons and three daughters.

## PAUL JONES

The children with one exception were fair copies of their parents, strong, healthy, intelligent and devout members of the community. William, the oldest, was adopted by a wealthy Virginia planter, named William Jones, a kinsman of John Paul. There was a strong affection between the two men, which descended into the second generation. From the kinship and affection many results were to be brought about in the coming years. The child of the family who differed notably from all the rest was the youngest son, John. In temperament, he took after his Highland mother, being quick-tempered, belligerent, recklessly brave and utterly invincible. In some respects, he seems to have been the avatar of a Mediæval Highlander, one of those superb savages, who with claymore and buckler charged an enemy's army and cut and stabbed until he was killed by the foe, and even in dying struck with his last expiring energy.

John Paul's childhood was harsh and devoid of most of the pleasures which come to children in more fertile lands. He attended the parish school, where he must have done his duty if we are to judge by his writing in after years. He aided his parents in the endless fight against the wolf of poverty, and when but five years of age was wont to accompany his father or an elder brother on a fishing expedition. Almost as soon as he could walk he could swim and dive, and before he was ten could handle oar, sweep and sail with the skill of an old seaman. He picked up "*single stick*" from some retired soldier in his village and at rare intervals indulged in the rough sports of the Lowlands.

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But his life was essentially on the sea. Ere he had entered his teens, he knew the Solway Firth from Linemouth to Whitehaven. He had visited the Isle of Man, crossed over to the Irish coast and probably sailed across Morecambe Bay. The fare at home, though coarse, was wholesome and plentiful. His father was kind in his way, and the boy grew so rapidly in both strength and stature, that at thirteen he was often mistaken for a youth five or six years older.

His career opened in almost dramatic fashion. In the midsummer of 1759 there was a heavy squall at Arbigland, and a crowd of villagers was watching a small fishing boat beating up against the wind in order to reach the little creek which was the town's harbor. Opinions were divided as to whether the boat would succeed. Suddenly, the elder John Paul spoke out, "She'll come in; that is my own boy John conning the boat. He'll fetch her in. This is naught of a squall for him." The father's words were confirmed. The boat slowly drew nearer, forging ahead in spite of the water which swept over it at almost every wave and the bending mast which every now and then seemed to vanish into the sea. It was sailed by a man and a boy; the boy was doing all the work and the man was simply ballast. That boy was the younger John Paul, who was to become known to all time as Paul Jones.

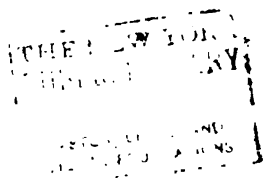
Words of encouragement and praise welcomed the hardy youngster as he came ashore. Among the speakers was James Younger, a rich ship owner of Whitehaven, who hap-





JOHN PAUL JONES

*From an engraving of the painting by Peale*



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pened to be at the place recruiting sailors for one of his craft. He pressed forward and shook hands with the youth, who was formally introduced by the father.

"You are a brave lad, my son," said Younger, "if your father will let you go, I will make you a Master's apprentice in a fine new ship I'm about to send out to Virginia and the West Indies."

The crowd cheered the practical compliment of the offer; the boy blushed with delight at the idea of realizing what had been his favorite dream from early childhood, and the father after thinking a moment consented to the son's accepting the engagement on the brig "Friendship." The apprentice made his first trip across the ocean. The craft reached the plantations where it was to take a tobacco cargo and dropped anchor in the Rappahannock river, not far from the home of William Jones and William Paul Jones, John's oldest brother.

The old planter, who was childless, took a great fancy to the bright-eyed apprentice, and offered to buy him out of his indenture and to adopt him, but the boy, though flattered by the old planter's regard, preferred Neptune and hard work to Ceres and leisure. From Virginia, he sailed for Tobago and the Barbadoes, and thence to Whitehaven, where he returned early in 1760. He had a natural aptitude for the deep sea and was exceedingly ambitious. In 1764 he was promoted to second mate, and the following year was made first officer. In 1766, his employer retired from business, having been elected to Parliament, and signalized his appreciation of his apprentice's services by pre-

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senting him with a sixth interest in the good ship, "King George's Packet."

The youth must have been very proud as his vessel, with him second in command, sailed for the West Indies from Whitehaven. He was but nineteen years of age, first officer and part owner of the deck he trod upon, and in health, strength and vigor, a prince among men. In two years, he made three voyages, two being devoted to slave catching and selling, which in those days was an honorable industry. Despite its profit and excitement, young Paul disliked it from the first and at the end of the second trip, which had proven very remunerative, he declined to undertake a third. As the ship was under contract to make this trip, he sold out his interest and with the profits he had made found himself the possessor of more than a thousand guineas. Good luck again favored him on the voyage home. Shortly after clearing the Windward Isles, yellow fever broke out on the Brig "John O' Gaunt," on which he had taken passage, and carried away the officers and all but five of the crew. Upon the death of the Captain and first officer the men put Jones in command. Though short handed he sailed her with his customary skill and success and brought her into Whitehaven in good condition with her cargo intact. This superb feat of seamanship made him a notable character in the busy port of Whitehaven, which in those days was the chief northwestern seaport of England.

The brig owners rewarded the salvors with a ten per cent share of the cargo, and realizing the sterling ability of Jones, they offered him the command of their ship

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"John," then about to leave. In addition to this honor they made him supercargo, with an interest of ten per cent on the net profit of the round voyage. On this vessel, he made three voyages, two of them being to the Rappahannock. On the first of these he was grieved to learn that his old friend William Jones had died in his absence. In the old man's will, John had been made residuary legatee of the estate, upon condition that he should assume the patronymic of Jones. He, accordingly qualified in the Court of Probate, becoming John Paul Jones.

His next trip was a long one. It was as Commander of the "Grantully Castle," which he sailed from Whitehaven to Plymouth, and thence to India, by way of the Cape of Good Hope. This, like his other voyages, was safely and successfully performed, netting a handsome profit for both owners and master. The perfect discipline he maintained on his vessels and the seamanlike way in which he kept each craft in fine condition gave him much spare time at sea, which unlike most of the sea captains of the period, he devoted to hard study. In these years, he mastered French and obtained an excellent knowledge of Spanish, Portuguese and Italian. He became thoroughly familiar with naval history, navigation tactics, geography and the principles of international commerce.

He appears to have loved study for its own sake and to have mapped out, though in a vague way, a plan of higher education for himself, to which he devoted many hours every day. Before he was thirty he was said to be the most skilful and wisest navigator on the sea. His memory was

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remarkable both for accuracy and endurance. He kept a large supply of charts and studied these until he knew them all by heart. The coasts of Great Britain and Europe, of the West Indies and America were as familiar to him in manhood as those of the Solway Firth had been in his boyish days. He was unlike either the men of the merchant marine or the navy. Neither asceticism nor dissipation marked his career. He enjoyed the good things of life, but in extreme moderation. Little dinner parties and suppers with men of a high intellectuality were his chief delight. For the carousing and hard drinking which marked the cabins of nearly all ships, he had the heartiest contempt. On shore his friends were merchants, bankers, the makers of sextants, telescopes, and charts, shipbuilders, and men and women of culture or special knowledge.

His face was almost classic in its regularity, his figure that of a military athlete, and his manners those of a French nobleman. At every port he was a social favorite, and his chief friends were among the leaders of society. In the New World his intimates were the Livingstons of New York, the Morris's of Philadelphia, the Lees and Washingtons of Virginia, and the Pinckneys and Rutledges of South Carolina.

His last mercantile voyage was on the Brig "Two Friends" from Whitehaven to Lisbon, thence to the Madeiras, Tobago, the Chesapeake, and home. Fortune was with him as usual, and at each port of call, the ship's business was transacted with expedition and profit. At Rappahannock came the end of his career as a master of

## PAUL JONES

the merchant marine. He arrived as his brother died, and he found himself under the old will the owner of the Jones estate. Captain John Paul here passes from history and is replaced by Captain Paul Jones.

The wealthy planter, for such he had become, gave his command over to the first officer and settled down to Colonial life. His new estate comprised two thousand acres of fertile land, of which one-third was under cultivation and two-thirds in timber. From his shady veranda, he could see a grist mill at work, negro slaves toiling in the sun, horses grazing on the meadow, cattle, sheep, swine and all the indicia of prosperity. The Captain would have been a rich man from this estate alone, but he had already earned a fortune upon the sea. Scarcely had the house received its new tenant when its doors were opened to the neighbors. Jones was already known and loved so that his spacious mansion was quickly crowded with friends and acquaintances. He was doubtless the most eligible man in that part of Virginia, so that mothers conspired against him and fair maidens set their caps for him. With sunny complaisancy he gave them almost complete control of the establishment. They planned his dinners and receptions, acted as social sponsors of the many agreeable functions which were given, and in every way made his home a bright and cheerful mecca for the people of the Dominion.

His studious habits made him take up the issues which were then agitating Virginia. Then, if not before, he became convinced that the Colonies were in the right and the Crown in the wrong. Other incidents occurred from time

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to time, which aroused the old Highland nature beneath his polished manners and extraordinary culture. In December, 1774, he attended a ball at Norfolk, Va., where among the guests were some officers belonging to a British sloop of war then at anchor in the harbor. Here occurred an incident which throws a clear light upon both the times and his character. Writing to his friend Joseph Hewes, he says:

“ \* \* \* The insolence of these young officers, in particular when they had gotten somewhat in their cups, was intolerable, and there could be no doubt that they represented the feeling of their service generally. As you may hear imperfect versions of an affair brought on by the insolence of one of them, I will take the liberty of relating it. In the course of a debate, somewhat heated, concerning the state of affairs, a lieutenant of the sloop of war, Parker by name, declared that in case of a revolt or insurrection, it would be easily suppressed, if the courage of the Colonial men was on a par with the virtue of the Colonial women.

“I at once knocked Mr. Parker down, whereupon his companions seized him and all hurried from the scene, going aboard their ship. Expecting naturally that the affair would receive further attention, I requested Mr. Granville Hurst, whom you know, to act for me; suggesting only that a demand for satisfaction should be favorably considered, and that he should propose pistols at ten paces; place of meeting, Craney Island; time at the convenience of the other side. To my infinite surprise, no demand came \* \* \*.”



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Though the chivalrous planter gave no thought to the affair, the news went everywhere and made him the hero of the hour. Above all, it appealed to the hearts of the Colonial dames and damsels, who then as now worshipped physical strength and daring. The same month, Jones made the acquaintance of Thomas Jefferson and Philip Livingston the Signer. To them, as to Washington and Richard Henry Lee, he declared that if hostilities came, he and his sword would be at the disposal of the Colonies.

In the spring of 1775, he was cruising for pleasure along the coast and stopped at New York with the intention of proceeding by water to Boston. Here he heard from William Livingston the news of the Battle of Lexington. It aroused his fighting blood, and instead of going to Boston he set sail for home, where, when he arrived, he sent a circular letter to Joseph Hewes, who was then a delegate to the Continental Congress, Thomas Jefferson, Robert Morris and Philip Livingston, in which he said "that the issue was either war to the knife or total submission to complete slavery," and begging them to keep his name in their memory if any provision was to be made for a naval force.

In May, two French frigates put in at Hampton Roads for water and provisions. The news was carried to Jones, who loaded his sloop with delicacies of all sorts and visited the war ships. One frigate had for its second officer the French Prince Louis Philippe, Duke of Chartres. After presenting the officers of the fleet with his cargo of eatables, he spoke of the war clouds on the horizon and asked permission to make drawings and get full data of the frigate,

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which happened to be one of the newest and best in the French Navy. The Duke's heart was won by the handsome young planter, and not alone did he give the desired permission, but even aided him in having copies made of the deck, gun and sail plans. From these drawings and details the American frigate, "The Alliance" was built one year later.

Jones foresaw the coming storm, and in May, 1775, when so many neighbors were crying "peace, peace," he put his estate into the hands of trustees and made every preparation for an absence on the sea of an unlimited duration. Doubtless, even then, he had formed vaguely the plan of campaign which has since become a deathless chapter in the history of naval warfare. In June, Congress appointed a committee upon the organization of a naval force, consisting of Robert Morris, chairman, Philip Livingston, Benjamin Harrison, John Hancock, Joseph Hewes and Nicholas Van Dyke.

Was it a mere coincidence that three of these were warm friends, to whom he had written, and a fourth an admiring acquaintance, or was it a part of that destiny which controls nations?

A few days afterwards, the committee, on motion of Mr. Hewes, unanimously invited Paul Jones, Esq., to lay before them information and advice. Reporting promptly in person he made so profound an impression upon the committee that they appointed him a member of an expert commission in regard to starting a navy. He became the head of the commission, and enjoying the unswerving support of Rob-

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ert Morris and Nicholas Biddle, he pushed the work with tireless zeal. Six ships were purchased by the commission. The work of converting vessels into warships was carried on under the personal direction of Jones. Though busy day and night in altering, refitting and equipping the craft, he found time to write a superb letter to the marine committee of the Continental Congress, in which he laid down the principles of naval organization.

It was read by George Washington, who said, "Mr. Jones is clearly not only a master mariner, within the scope of the art of navigation, but he also holds a strong and profound sense of the political and military weight of command on the sea. His powers of usefulness are great and must be constantly kept in view."

The Captain's review of the New England scheme for building a navy which had been referred to him by Congress is another document which is a gem in our governmental literature. His plans were adopted, and a navy started by the appointment of five captains, five first lieutenants and eight junior lieutenants. Would it be believed in view of the foregoing facts, that Congress should have overlooked the master mind whose directions they were now following? Yet such was the pitiable truth. Politics and place hunting defeated patriotism and common sense. Five other men who had done comparatively little or nothing in the creation of the navy were made captains and Paul Jones, the founder, a first lieutenant. The captains were Ezek Hopkins, senior officer, Dudley Saltonstall, Abraham Whipple, Nicholas Biddle and John B. Hopkins. Four

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were appointed to please Mr. Adams and Massachusetts, and one, Nicholas Biddle, to placate Pennsylvania and Robert Morris. Jones's only expression of indignation was his summing up of the five captains, "Four of them were respectable skippers; one of them was the kind of naval captain that the God of Battles makes."

Politicians may make and fill places but only merit can hold them when the crisis comes. The following January, Commander Ezek Hopkins was dismissed from the service, and Captain Saltonstall was retired. Of all of John Adams's appointments, not one left a name upon the roll of glory. This squadron of fine ships, the baby navy of the United States, broke up in the spring of 1776. The last part of its career was marked by court martials, votes of censure, dismissals from the service, and the condemnation of press and public.

In May, Jones was assigned to the command of the sloop of war "Providence," of fourteen guns and one hundred and seven men. His first cruise showed his metal. The coast was patrolled by English cruisers, all more powerful than the "Providence," yet the little sloop sailed here and there with a reckless audacity altogether its own and captured no less than sixteen vessels. To add variety to his experience he made a descent on Canso in Nova Scotia, captured four vessels belonging to the Cape Breton fishery and attacked the fort at Isle Madame, where he dispersed the British garrison and secured arms and much ammunition.

On reaching home, good and bad news awaited him.

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From Thomas Jefferson came an affectionate letter enclosing his commission as captain in the Continental Navy; from his trustees a dispatch informing him that a British expedition under Lord Dunmore, the former Governor of Virginia, had descended upon the Rappahannock estate and laid it utterly waste. The only comment was the heroic letter to his friend Hewes, in which he said, "this is, of course, a part of the fortunes of war."

In November, he took charge of the "Alfred," then the best ship in the American Navy, and in thirty-three days captured seven ships, of which two were laden with large and valuable amounts of military supplies. This eventful trip was followed by six months' service at Philadelphia, acting as a counsellor to the Board of Advice. In April, this year, he met by accident the Marquis de Lafayette, beginning a friendship which lasted through life. It was an important meeting, because when Jones desired to lead a warship or squadron to English waters Lafayette came impetuously to his support. Politics prevented the adoption of his plans, and as a last resort he appealed to Washington. The General heard him courteously and promised that he should have a ship and a commission to sail the seas around England as requested. The promise was kept, as appears from a memorable entry in the record of the proceedings of Congress on June 14, 1777.

"*Resolved*, That the Flag of the Thirteen United States of America be thirteen stripes. Alternate red and white; that the Union be thirteen stars in a blue field: representing a New Constellation.

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*“ Resolved, That Captain John Paul Jones be appointed to command the ship ‘ Ranger.’ ”*

The new craft was one of the first in which American ship-building ideas displayed an appreciable difference from those of Europe. Jones was delighted with the “ Ranger.” In spite of one or two technical defects, she was swift, staunch, and powerful. She had a good armament and as he said “ the best crew I have ever seen.” Of the queer coincidence in the resolution which appointed him, he remarked “ that flag and I are twins born the same hour from the same womb of destiny.”

His first cruise was from Portsmouth to Nantes, in France, on the last day of which he captured two prizes. While in Paris, he renewed his acquaintance with the Duke of Chartres, whose beautiful wife called him “ the Untitled Knight of the Sea.” When the same lady presented him with a Louis Quinze watch of great beauty and value, he bowed, thanked her and said: “ May it please your Royal Highness, if fortune should favor me at sea I will some day lay an English frigate at your feet.”

On April 10, 1778, the “ Ranger ” started on its first cruise from Brest. At Whitehaven, his old port, he made a descent, capturing the two small forts, spiking the guns and returning to the ship with the loss of only one man. The effect of this blow was as Jones had predicted. Every port on the British coast became panic stricken and the British government was compelled to increase garrisons and coast guards and to detail warships at the chief strategic

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points. The marine insurance men raised their rates in many cases, a hundred per cent. Of equal importance was the strange sensation it produced in England from having a hostile warship hovering about the shores ready to inflict death and destruction without warning.

No sooner had he cleared from Whitehaven than he made a descent on St. Mary's Isle, the castle of the Earl of Selkirk. His next exploit was attacking and vanquishing the sloop of war "Drake." The battle lasted little more than an hour and was won by the superior gunnery of the Americans. After his victory he sailed around Ireland and went back to Brest, having taken six merchant prizes besides a warship superior in force to his own.

His return to Brest was the signal for an extraordinary popular demonstration. England had so long been ruler of the seas that her ships were supposed to be invincible. This was especially true in France, whose bad luck upon the water had become a proverb. Nowhere were these feelings more dominant than in the French seaport. When, therefore an English warship was brought in prisoner by an American vessel of inferior size it created an astonishment which can be hardly realized at the present time. The victor's joy was shortlived. The Commission at Paris which consisted of Franklin, Adams and Lee refused to honor the drafts which he had drawn, whose proceeds were to feed and clothe his crew. The reason of their refusal is difficult to explain especially as regards Franklin. John Adams disliked Jones, as did Arthur Lee. It is also very probable in

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the light of recent investigations, that Lee was at heart a traitor. Franklin doubtless signed the refusal to prevent quarrelling in the Commission.

On learning that his drafts were dishonored, Jones threatened to sell his prizes and with the proceeds pay the running expenses of his ship. The American fiscal agent at Brest acting doubtless under the directions of Lee and perhaps Adams, denied Jones's authority, claiming "that the title to the prizes was vested in the Commission." This was the straw that broke the camel's back, Jones rose up in his wrath. He sent a letter to the Commission which they probably never forgot. He translated it into French and sent it through his friend the Duke of Chartres to the Royal Cabinet at Versailles. He ignored the fiscal agent and had the prizes libeled and sold by a Court of Admiralty where-with to pay the drafts.

In 1778, Franklin brought about a reconciliation between Jones and Adams. The Sea King was now waiting for the ship which the French government had promised him, but which seemed as far off as ever. Despairing at last of obtaining the vessel through the ordinary channels of diplomacy he appealed with customary boldness to the King. The monarch granted him an interview, and was so pleased with the intrepid sailor that the ship now became an actuality. This was "Le Duras," which under its new name of the "Bon Homme Richard" became immortal. She was joined by "The Alliance," a frigate built in America, the "Pallas," a French frigate and the "Vengeance," a small French brig. Captain Jones, now a commodore, toiled like



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a Trojan in refitting and equipping his armada and in reorganizing and drilling his crews. They sailed on August 14, 1779, and were at sea fifty days. During that time they circumnavigated the British Isles. For so brief a voyage and so small a force there is nothing to compare with it in history. Many were the prizes which they took.

On September 23, 1779, occurred the encounter with the "Serapis." The battle fought by the two vessels will never be forgotten. It was more like an awful nightmare than an encounter at sea. The "Bon Homme Richard" was the smaller and the weaker of the two boats. "The Alliance" which should have aided him was commanded by a scoundrel, Landais, who actually fired into his colleague. It was while the "Bon Homme Richard" was sinking under the heavy fire of the "Serapis" that the ships came together. The Americans boarded the English craft and captured her, leaving their own vessel which not long after sank with flags flying into the deep. On his return to France, Jones was received with the welcome accorded to a monarch. The American Congress unanimously passed a vote of thanks and appointed him commander of a ship of the line, then building. The King of France presented him with a jeweled sword and decorated him with the Order of Merit.

His active service in the United States Navy terminated early in 1781. On his arrival in America he engaged in straightening his accounts, settling controversies and overseeing the construction of the new warship "America." In 1782 he obtained permission from Congress to enlist under the French flag in the naval expedition France and

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Spain were sending against the British West Indies. While here, he was seized with fever and obliged to return the following May. He was next sent as a special commissioner by Congress to Europe. While performing his public duties, he attended to the prize money settlements and his own private affairs. In 1788, he entered the Russian Navy as a rear admiral, where his usefulness becoming impaired by ill health he obtained leave of absence and returned to Paris. Here he grew worse and in 1792 passed away.

Of the great sea fighters of the world, his name will go down in history with Nelson, Farragut and Dewey. In statesmanship, executive ability and broad culture, he compares favorably with the leaders of the Revolution. His career is painful reading to a patriot, because more than that of any other faithful public servant it shows the folly, incompetency and ingratitude of a republic. He was more than a great viking, he was an organizer. The American Navy was framed upon the lines which he drew during the two years before the Revolution. The battles which he won and the numerous prizes made had a double significance. Beside the prestige of success for the new republic and of humiliation for the mistress of the sea, Great Britain, they compelled the British Government to expend money, thought and energy at home which would otherwise have been free to use in crushing the Colonies.

And yet despite all this, he was treated with a contumely which reflects everlasting discredit upon those who begrudged his popularity, belittled his grandeur and made

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sport of his achievements. The blame is to be charged more to political conditions than politicians. The republic had not become organized, and in many respects was still in a chaotic condition. Had it been at the time, a true nation, it would have paid him the same tribute that it did in the succeeding century to Farragut and to Dewey. If ever a seaman deserved the high title of Admiral of the American Navy, it was the Chevalier John Paul Jones.

That he accepted the slights as well as the favors of fortune with the same serene imperturbability is evidence of his high philosophy. That in spite of the neglect and abuse which had been his lot, he prided himself upon being an American until his death and refused citizenship under alien governments, demonstrates him to have been a patriot like Washington and Franklin. In the seven long years of war, he stands alone in the arena of the ocean. He was the founder of the race of which Bainbridge, Decatur, McDonough, Perry, Farragut, Porter, Dewey, Sampson, Evans, Clark, Gridley and Wainright are worthy representatives. So long as an American flag flies the deep and the ocean weaves its spell over the hearts of Americans, just that long will the name of Paul Jones remain in the firmament of fame.

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## XVIII

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### ELBRIDGE GERRY

*Born, July 17, 1744; Died, November 23, 1814.*

**T**HE serious and even somber character of New England life initiated by the Pilgrims and Puritans in the seventeenth century was so organic in nature that it has colored the communities of its territory ever since. Nevertheless it should never be forgotten, that after the wilderness had been subjugated by the stalwart pioneers of Devon and Nottingham, new and different types came from the old country to swell the population. Among these were merchants, farmers, adventurers and representatives of various crafts and callings.

If among the Revolutionary leaders of the Eastern states, Samuel Adams, John Adams and John Hancock be taken as exponents of the first settlers who crossed the ocean to obtain "freedom to worship God,—for themselves," Elbridge Gerry stands for the second or commercial wave, which followed in the wake of the first.

His father, Thomas Gerry, was a merchant or tradesman in Newton, Suffolk county, England, who came to Massachusetts in 1730, and started a small store in Marblehead, where he developed a large and lucrative business. He was a man of strong character as well as commercial ability, and besides accumulating a fortune, he made himself a

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leader in public affairs in the little port and the surrounding country.

Elbridge, his son, inherited the father's ambition, ability and thrift. Through the strong paternal love of his sire, he began life where his father left off. Thomas had received an ordinary education in England, Elbridge the best that Massachusetts Bay Colony could provide. His primary training was had at home and in the excellent school which Marblehead possessed. He made special preparation for college and entered Harvard with great credit.

In that institution he was diligent, thorough and almost brilliant. He was graduated in 1765, and in the language of one of the old writers, "was a bright ornament to that useful institution."

In his Master's thesis, he showed the strong love of justice in his nature by propounding very radical views upon the Stamp Act and other fiscal measures, which had been applied by the British government to the American Colonies. His opinions alone would have attracted notice by reason of their boldness and strength. Beyond these qualities, they were marked by keen logic, strong mental grasp and an attractive literary style. Inasmuch as he had been viewed up to that time as a collegian, who lived in his books and studies, and therefore in antiquity rather than the present, his thesis was a revelation to all interested in Harvard affairs. They realized for the first time that beneath the student was a patriot and a public spirited citizen.

Upon graduation, he took up his father's business with the same patience and energy as he had his studies. He

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already knew it well and had little to learn excepting a few practical details. The suavity and composure which had marked him as a collegian proved of benefit in his commercial transactions. They made him more popular than his father, and doubtless helped materially in increasing the transactions of the house. Another advantage was the wealth of prestige, which his father had achieved. The combination of these elements enabled him to make money so rapidly that he is said to have amassed a large fortune in the eight years between his graduation and his election as a delegate from Marblehead to the General Court of Massachusetts Bay. During this time, while he did not devote much leisure to public affairs, he kept thoroughly in touch with the people and was identified with the movement of which James Otis and Samuel Adams were the leaders.

What little he said was always to the point, and always in favor of Colonial rights. When, therefore, he accepted the nomination and was elected to the General Court, he went there under the best auspices. He had the undivided support of the Whigs, who looked justly upon him as their coming leader, and the respect and even affection of the Tories, who recognized his probity and wisdom. From 1773, until his death, he was almost continuously in public life. He kept the promise of his youth and never lost the confidence and love of his constituents. Nearly all of the many honors which were bestowed upon him came apparently of their own accord and without his seeking. Had he been ambitious for public perferment, he could no doubt have been the leader of New England. In his first term, he

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was conspicuous as a member of the Committee of Correspondence, where associated with John Hancock and Azor Orne, he was indefatigable in carrying out the plans which had been formulated by Samuel Adams. To the ministerial work, he applied business principles with admirable results. He was one of the first, if not the first, to use the system of circular letters in politics, so that all of the towns in Massachusetts and the communities in other Colonies with which they were in relationship should know not alone the latest news from Boston and London, but also what was going on among their fellow citizens. To Samuel Adams he proved an invaluable ally and companion. When the latter started his famous campaign against Governor Hutchinson, Gerry made himself invaluable by his encouragement and support.

At all the meetings of the "arch rebels" as the patriotic leaders were styled by the British administration in Boston, he was not only present but conspicuous by his attitude and speeches. The following year, when Governor Gage prohibited the election of an Assembly, he was one of those who committed criminal contempt if not treason, by taking part in the election and being chosen a delegate. When Gage threatened penalties, civil, criminal and martial, and the dauntless Assembly adjourned from Salem to Concord and thence to Cambridge, where it organized as a Provincial Congress, he was one of the ringleaders in this illegal but patriotic work. The Provincial Congress appointed a Committee of Safety and Supplies of which he was a busy and tireless member. Employing every device and using his

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own fortune when the public treasury was empty, he more than any other of his illustrious colleagues aided in accumulating the military stores which were to equip the first Continental Army. The following year he was a delegate to the Second Provincial Congress, where he held the same and other positions of importance and where he continued the admirable work of the year previous.

As committeeman, he arranged with Paul Revere, Henry Knox and their colleagues the system of espionage whereby the news of all movements of Governor Gage in Boston was immediately transmitted to Concord, Worcester and other points. This year, he drafted a bill which was adopted by the Congress for the fitting out of privateers and the establishment of a Court of Admiralty and Maritime jurisdiction. This move was more than pregnant. It not only meant war with the mother country, but war upon the high seas against British commerce. In addition, it involved the obliteration of the royal courts of justice and the creation of an independent judiciary. Between the lines were other consequences, which were perceived by the statesmen and careful thinkers of the period. The authority which had power to issue letters of marque and reprisals to third parties had necessarily the right to build and use warships of its own. If it had the right to establish a Court of Admiralty, it had equal power to establish a complete system of courts and to enact its own laws and rules of practice. Not only was it tantamount to a declaration of independence, but it foreshadowed a new government with executive, legislative, judicial and admiralty powers. The future Re-



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public was invisibly described and prefigured in Gerry's resolutions.

His services had been so useful to the Colony of Massachusetts Bay that up to this point he had been kept by his constituents at home. He was not sent to the First Continental Congress because he could not be spared from the place he filled so ably and well. Now, however, the Colonial troubles were no longer localized in Boston, but had spread throughout the Thirteen Colonies. There was a need of strong men at the Continental Congress. There was no complaint against the representatives at the First Congress of 1774 or 1775, which had done admirably and given satisfaction to the various commonwealths, but the crisis had grown more urgent, and it was felt that each Colony should send a more powerful delegation to meet together for the common good. Thus it was in January, 1776, he, with John Hancock, Samuel Adams, John Adams, Thomas Cushing, Francis Dana, James Lovell, and Robert Treat Paine, were appointed delegates to Philadelphia. Though a man of affairs and of great wealth, his conduct was never marked by the conservatism or caution of others of his class. From the first he displayed more of the qualities of the soldier than the merchant. He was outspoken for independence, and advocated its declaration even before he reached the national capital. His services in Congress lasted from 1776 to 1781, and from 1782 to 1785. They were marked by fidelity, conscientiousness, ability and zeal. Though not a politician, and despising political trickery, yet in avoiding these, he often sinned on the opposite side.

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To this unswerving hostility to all which he considered wrong or impolitic were due the mistakes which he made and which occasioned much angry debate at the time. He did not seem to realize that in political fights and intrigues there are usually two sets of politicians at work or at war. In representative government, it seldom occurs that the corrupt politician opposes the upholder of justice. On the contrary, there are corrupt politicians and corruption upon both sides, and too often, alas, the friends of righteousness are compelled to choose the lesser of two evils. Thus, during the infamous Conway Cabal, Gerry was accused of being a party to the nefarious schemes of the conspirators. Subsequent investigation proved him innocent of the charge. The same thing marked him in his conflict with Benedict Arnold. He made no allowance for the fact that military accounts in war are necessarily kept loosely and imperfectly, and that a military officer has not the time to devote to bookkeeping as a merchant has in his counting-room. When, therefore, he treated Arnold's accounts as he would have done those of a careless clerk, he inflicted a grievous injustice to that officer. Overlooking the fact that he was himself one of the central figures of the Revolutionary Government, he used language and suggested thoughts which made the community regard Arnold rightly or wrongly as an embezzler and peculator. A cloud of discredit thus formed around the man, who was brave, impetuous and undoubtedly upright. It added to the other forces which were at work, and made them strong enough to force him

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from the path of duty and become a traitor to the Colonial cause.

Arnold's treachery was prompted not by the love of gain, but by vengefulness and resentment. He had been slighted by the politicians, who had refused to recognize his bravery and martial skill, he had been treated unjustly by other officers of the Colonial Army, and last of all he had been overhauled by Gerry in a way which injured his pride and self respect. No blame attaches to Gerry. He did for the government what he would have done for himself in his own office.

Though his services have been comparatively forgotten in the glory of his having signed the Declaration of Independence, yet they were of inestimable worth to the young republic. Of his arduous labors, it may be noticed, that they were more than the services of a faithful official. Through them all may be seen the action of a great mind and a profound love for republican institutions. As an illustration, when an appointment as judge of the Court of Admiralty was tendered to him, he declined the honor for the reason that he proposed to devote all his time and energy to the exigency of his country. When the first propositions for peace with England were made, he was the statesman who drew the clause for the protection of American fishery rights in northern waters. In 1780, Congress acted in a way which he regarded as tyrannical and subversive of the sovereign rights of Massachusetts. He demanded justice as he viewed it, and upon this being refused, he vacated his

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seat, went back to Marblehead and laid his complaint before the legislature, which sustained him and passed resolutions of protest which he himself had written or else had suggested. Not until the General Court begged him to return to the Continental Congress, and elected him formally on a joint ballot, did he resume his seat in the latter body.

So warm was the admiration he enjoyed at home, that although serving in Congress he was also elected a member of the State Senate and of the State Assembly. At the Constitutional Convention he was a prominent member, and a leader of the Anti-Federalists. Against the Constitution he fought fiercely, and when that instrument was at last adopted, Gerry with others refused to sign the document and left the Convention hall. Returning to his State, he labored to prevent its adoption by that Commonwealth. Though an indomitable foeman he nevertheless had the wisdom of adapting himself to circumstances, and in 1789 went back to Congress, where he served with his customary zeal for four years. He was now as vigorous in his support of the Constitution as he had been before in its denunciation. When twitted with inconsistency, he boldly said, "It has received the sanction of the people," and on another occasion "the Federal Constitution having become the supreme law of the land, the salvation of the country depends upon its being carried into effect."

As might be supposed, he was in full accord with the Republican party, believing that the Federalists were monarchists in disguise. Named for Governor of Massachusetts in 1800, he was defeated at the polls, and suffered the same

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fate the following year. 1810 saw him again a candidate, and this time he was elected. His administration met with hearty approval, and he was re-elected. In 1812 he was chosen Vice-President of the United States. A careful study of his public career shows him to have been a statesman, a broad thinker, and as zealous a lover of right as the strictest Puritan. Like the Puritan too, he was deficient in political tact and finesse. Personally and socially he was the most charming of men. Officially and politically he clothed himself with the spines of opposition.

When his constituents thought as he did, he was their most efficient servant. If during his term of office they changed their views, he regarded it apparently as a wrong to himself and went on irrespective of their desires. Upon the great issues he advocated the cause of progress as he understood progress; but no matter what his views they were never small, sectional or provincial. While he opposed the Federal Constitution, it was because he believed in a federation of strong, self-centered political units. The ideal republic of his mind was a congeries of little republics. This he believed was the only way to prevent that tyranny which comes from the centralization of power. The glitter of names had for him no fascination. As early as the days of Governor Hutchinson, he saw that a democracy might be as cruel and wicked a tyrant as a despotism. He had great faith in the common people, and believed that the town meeting system was the only one which really expressed the idea of human liberty and equality. From this logically came his belief in committees and bureaus, rather

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than heads of departments. That his opinions were not borne out by subsequent facts; that the committee system proved wasteful and inefficient; that the best results in republics as well as monarchies, come from the organization of public work along business lines, under strong and responsible personal heads, does not militate against the absolute sincerity and honesty of the man's soul. He loved liberty and right, and formulated the best possible methods according to his own lights.

In personal appearance, Gerry was small, slender and nervous. Sensitiveness marked him physically as well as mentally. These qualities it was which suggested the humorous remark of Benjamin Harrison of Virginia. When the two men signed the Declaration of Independence, Harrison turned to Gerry, and with his huge body shaking with laughter, observed, "When the hanging scene comes to be exhibited, Mr. Gerry, I shall have the advantage over you on account of my size. All will be over with me in a moment, but you'll be kicking high in air half an hour after I am gone."

In his long and busy career Mr. Gerry was ably seconded by his wife, Ann Thompson, by whom he had three sons and six daughters. She was marked by rare personal and social graces and played an important part in the social functions of the revolutionary and post revolutionary years.

Than Gerry the American public never had a more faithful servant. The mere list of the offices he held with distinction to himself and satisfaction to the people would make a brilliant history in itself. In the later years of

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his life, when he felt age coming upon him, he desired to retire to private life, but cheerfully put aside personal wishes when they conflicted with those of the people he loved so well. He was sixty-eight years of age when he became Vice-President, and was then a mere shell of a man tenanted by a Titanic soul.

No matter what the weather or his condition, he repaired to the Senate Chamber at each session of that body, and even disobeyed the advice of his physicians when nature intimated in unmistakable language that he should stay at home and rest. He had passed the three score years and ten when Azrael called him. His lungs had been troubling him for some time. It was in November, and the world was all inclement, and yet despite age, weather and ailment the old patriot was proceeding from his house to his post of duty. There was a debate on hand that day of no great importance, but yet of sufficient moment in his estimation to prevent his remaining at home. With eyes fixed upon the capital, with mind revolving upon the conduct of senatorial affairs of the session, with body trembling from his infirmities, he passed away in harness, as bravely as a soldier dies upon the field of battle.

## JAMES OTIS

*Born, February 5, 1725; Died, May 23, 1783.*

**P**ATRIOT, prophet, orator and zealot is the epitaph which time has written upon the tomb of James Otis of Massachusetts. He was a John the Baptist crying in the Wilderness, and with his oratory baptizing the strong men and true who were to follow him. Though he did not die upon the battlefield like his comrade, General Warren, nor in duty's iron harness like his other colleague, Elbridge Gerry, he nevertheless gave his life to the cause of Colonial independence and freedom.

A Puritan was he by blood, education and instinct. His nature was framed from the stuff of which martyrs are made. Had he been born and raised in England, he would have been in the front line of Cromwell's immortal Ironsides. The Otis family came from Norfolk county, England, one of the Saxon centres of that kingdom. The name indicates the career of the race. Its various spellings, Oats, Oattis, Oates and Ottis are odorous with the perfume of ploughed land and waving fields of grain. John, the founder of the family in America, came from Hingham, Norfolk, in 1635, accompanying his pastor, the Rev. Peter Hobart. Both pastor and parishioner were stalwart non-conformists and crossed the sea to please conscience



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rather than to better their material conditions. This was especially the case with Otis, who was a freeholder in Norfolk, which meant a man whose means were sufficient to insure comfort for himself and his family. He was probably of the same type as Winthrop, Bradford, and the other strong men whose names are found in the passage list of the "Mayflower."

The children of the second generation were Puritan farmers, who spent their lives in civilizing the wilderness of eastern Massachusetts. In the third generation Judge John rose into prominence by reason of talents, versatility and vigorous personality. His record is one of unusual interest: eighteen years at the head of the militia, twenty years a representative, twenty-one years a member of the Provincial Council, thirteen years chief judge of the Common Pleas and forty years a church official.

Two of his sons inherited much of his talent. John, the elder, was a member of the General Court of the Council, and James, the younger, an eminent lawyer and public leader, a justice of the Common Pleas and a colonel of the militia. In the fifth generation appeared the two great characters of the family, James, the Colonel's oldest son, and Mercy his daughter. No account of the former is complete without some reference to the latter, who was in many respects a more important and influential personality than either her distinguished brother or many of the great figures of the Revolution. She espoused a worthy citizen and patriot, General James Warren, and under the married name of Mercy Otis Warren will in all coming ages be one

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of the brightest gems in the crown of American womanhood.

The Colonel determined that James, his eldest son, should receive the best education which could be had in the Colonies, and the sister and brother determined that the latter should, so far as they could forward the scheme, enjoy the advantages of the former. Thus while the son after graduating from the district school prepared himself under the Rev. Jonathan Russell, the parish clergyman, for Harvard, the ambitious girl pursued the same curriculum from the same books almost unobserved by the rest of the household. Harvard graduated him in 1743, and made him an A.M. in 1746. By no alumnus were the degrees more deserved. The young man was a scholar worthy of his alma mater. The pleasure he felt at his own achievements must have been increased by that he received from the progress and intellectual development of Mercy, whose brilliancy and culture were becoming a household word at Barnstable, their home. The deep love of brother and sister was broadened and intensified by the similarity in tastes and tendencies, and was to exert a profound influence upon their careers in life as well as upon James Warren, a comrade of the brother and husband of the sister.

After graduation the young collegian spent two years upon literature and history, and then took up the study of law in the office of Jeremiah Gridley. Here he passed three years of hard work, devoting himself to professional reading during the day and to general reading in the evening. The kindness of his father enabled him to purchase

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a small valuable library, and by degrees both James and Mercy mastered the great works which were then regarded as the necessary foundation of all culture.

One thousand seven hundred and forty-eight saw James hang out the proverbial shingle in his native town, and 1750 witnessed his removal to Boston, where there was a larger field for his abilities. Here in a short while he became a leader of the bar. Beyond the advantages of some means, social position and a college education, he possessed extraordinary eloquence, high integrity, and remarkable social charm. He would have been exceedingly popular but for an impetuosity, and spiritual rather than nervous irritability, which were apt to express themselves in a way that inflicted intense pain. It was the old Puritan nature asserting itself. When this came into conflict with tact, policy, or commercial considerations it swept the latter before it. In the mind of Otis abstract and absolute right was the sole God of his pantheon. It was this which made him respected rather than loved, looked up to and followed, but nevertheless feared. Although the bar was as conservative in those years as at the present time his progress was phenomenal. He became the head of the profession and an advocate of national reputation. His practice grew until it covered New England and Nova Scotia. The court calendars of that period show him to have been engaged in most of the more important cases that were brought for trial.

During his leisure time in the decade 1750-1760, he devoted himself to literary work and wrote industriously upon

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many topics. From his pen came a capital manual, "Rudiments of Latin Prosody," which was adopted as a text-book by Harvard. He finished a similar treatise upon Greek Prosody, but in this he was ahead of his time. There was not a single Greek type in the Colonies nor a printer who could set copy in that language. Though a fine classicist, he had an equally strong love for the masters of English literature. To a friend he wrote concerning a fashion of his time which consisted in the copious use of quotations from the minor English poets then popular, "If you want to read poetry, read Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden, and Pope, and throw all the rest in the fire."

In his writings and speeches it is easy to see the influence of his favorite authors, English, Latin and Greek. Occasionally, if not frequently, he used quotations wherever these were apropos, and in all his work may be discerned the flavor, finish and thought of the chief authors of the literatures named. In the latter part of this decade the Crown recognized his marked talents by appointing him advocate-general. He accepted the office, and during the brief period of his incumbency discharged his duties with rare skill. In 1761 occurred the first notable mistake of the British ministry in its government of the Colonies. Heretofore all the oppressive laws on the statute books had been interpreted and executed so as to give no offence to the people of America. There were many reasons for this course of action. England had long been at war with France and desired to expel her from Canada. In the conflict, the Colonies, and especially Massachusetts, had been

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of invaluable service. To the Colonial yeomanry more credit was due for the victories won in the north than to the much vaunted regulars. The merchants contributed largely for military purposes, while the sea-faring classes had supplied stalwart sailors to the British Navy and reckless fighters to the privateers, which were a feature of naval warfare at that time.

But on the accession of George III a change came over the spirit of the British ministry, which now determined to enforce rigorously the navigation acts which had long been treated as dead letter. Looked at in the calm light of to-day the action of the ministry from one point of view was not inspired by any desire to be tyrannical. The statutes represented fairly the collective wisdom of that period, and their application was demanded by many commercial interests in Great Britain and indeed in the New World. In order to enforce them and to obtain proof of violation it was necessary to issue what to-day would be termed search warrants, but were then known as writs of assistance. These were granted to customs officials, authorizing them to enter houses or stores in the pursuit of goods brought in without payment of duties and other dues, and also to search for invoices and other evidence of illegality.

The writs were not confined in their operation to America, but covered Great Britain and all her possessions. These laws had been created in the time of Charles II, when they applied merely to the home country. Subsequent enactments in the reign of William III had merely extended to the British custom houses in America the legal rights

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and privileges they enjoyed in the home country. In England the acts had been unpopular from the first, and the officials who executed the writs had invariably done so at their own peril. Riots, assaults and even murders had marked for years the employment of writs of assistance in England.

The writs violated the fundamental law of English civilization. They treated a man as a malefactor without any specific complaint, and assumed that he was guilty until he had proved himself innocent. They also violated the principle that an Englishman's house was his castle.

Theoretical objections were increased by the forms of legal practice. The writs of assistance were processes *in rem* rather than *in personam*. They authorized the customs officials to enter unknown houses, shops and stores without specifying place or owner, and there search for smuggled goods without specifying any goods whatever. Administered in the gentlest way possible they meant discomfort, pain and disgrace. In the hands of brutal or corrupt men they became engines of oppression, blackmail and extortion.

So long had been the disuse of these writs of assistance in New England that when the revenue officers petitioned for them to the Superior Court, that tribunal refused the petition. The custom house then applied to Otis, who in his capacity of advocate-general was bound to represent them in all legal proceedings. He took the matter into advisement, and finding that there was legal authority for

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the issuance of the writs he promptly resigned his office in spite of its high honor and emolument, and of its being the stepping stone to more valuable gifts from the Crown.

His resignation startled the community, which realized for the first time the momentousness of the issues which had been presented. It roused the admiration of the merchants of both Boston and Salem, who applied to Otis to act as their counsel against the writs. He accepted their retainer, but refused to accept any pay for his services. With him was associated Oxenbridge Thacher, a member of the Boston bar, who in learning and judicial power was perhaps the equal of Otis, though far inferior to the latter in eloquence and that broader culture which marks the great intellect.

The hearing of the issue thus raised took place in the Boston Council chamber in the old Town-house. Five judges occupied the bench, Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson acting as chief justice. By a strange trick of Dame Fortune, the Custom House was represented by Jeremiah Gridley, the eminent lawyer from whom Otis had acquired his first knowledge of the profession. The account of this famous trial has been given by John Adams. The judges were eminently dignified and polite; the arguments of Thacher on the one side and Gridley on the other were fine specimens of forensic knowledge and talent; the conduct of the case was dramatic from the calling of the court to its adjournment.

All of these served as a setting for the oration of Otis,

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which was the first great speech upon Colonial liberty and abstract justice which the New World had heard. It consumed five hours, and held every soul within the council's chambers spellbound. The facts, the history of the statute, the application of the law to the conditions of daily life, its injury to trade, and its violation of personal liberty were sketched by a master hand, and would with no other argument have made a marvelous piece of legal eloquence. But these were merely the foundation stones of the real speech. They were the text on which he preached a peerless sermon as to the constitutional relations between mother country and Colony, the constitutional rights of the Colony and the constitutional rights and liberties of the individual. It was the speech of a great lawyer, of a poet and a dreamer, of a Puritan and a statesman, and above all of a patriot and a Christian. Scores of passages can be selected from it which in slightly varying forms become the master touches of the orations of John Adams, Patrick Henry, and other leaders of the Revolution. The allusion of the Virginia lawyer to Charles I and Cromwell may be found in Otis's line, "It is in opposition to a kind of power, the exercise of which in former periods of English history cost one King of England his head and another his throne."

How many other orators have re-used his thought: "These manly sentiments in private life make the good citizen. In public life the patriot and the hero. I do not say that when brought to the test I shall be invincible. I pray God I may never be brought to the melancholy trial. But if ever I should it will be then known how far



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I can reduce to practice the principles which I know to be founded in truth."

Among the most interested of the spectators was John Adams, who said of the speech: "On this day the child Independence was born;" and in later life repeated it, "I do say in the most solemn manner that Mr. Otis's oration against writs of assistance breathed into this nation the breath of life."

The oration was a seed which brought forth fruit a thousand fold. It was the talk of Boston, and then of Massachusetts. It passed to the other Colonies and was read and reread by patriots and loyalists alike from Vermont to Georgia. It was quoted and requoted and seems to have become an authoritative utterance wherever political agitation was at work. Nearly every one of the subsequent leaders of the Revolution refers to it as the greatest exposition of human rights ever made in the New World.

The same year Otis was elected to the General Court, where he became the leader of the Revolutionary movement. From this time until 1769, he was indefatigable in his struggle for Colonial rights. In 1764, he wrote the pamphlet, "The Rights of the Colonies Vindicated," in which he took the broad ground that in all matters pertaining to public finance the rights of a Colonial legislature were as sacred and inviolable as those of Parliament. The following year, he made the motion that a Congress of delegates from the Thirteen Colonies be called together at New York to consider the issues which had been raised by the Stamp Act.

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To this body he was sent as a delegate, and was one of the committee which drew the address to the British House of Commons. In this assemblage he was a leading figure. His colleague, Timothy Ruggles, was president, and among the delegates were Eliphalet Dyer, William Bayard, John Cruger, Philip and Robert R. Livingston, and John Dickinson.

His career came to a tragic close in September, 1769, at the British Coffee House in State street. Here Otis repaired on the evening of September 5th, according to his custom, to have a cup of the Arabian berry and a glass of wine. The place was well filled with guests of the official class. None of his friends were present who might have prevented the tragedy that occurred. As he entered some political enemies led by John Robinson, a commissioner of the customs, approached him and began an altercation which culminated in the official striking Otis on the head with a cane. The lights were turned out and Otis beaten savagely by the crowd around him. The great lawyer was led home dazed and bleeding. The surgeons found a deep wound on the head which they declared to have been made by a sharp instrument. The accounts given by those who took part in the attack were contradictory and threw little or no light upon the guilty party or parties. All that could be proved was, that Otis had been cruelly beaten by a crowd of men armed with canes, bludgeons, and a sword or other weapon, and that both skull and brain had received injuries which were to unfit him for hard work in after life and eventually to bring on insanity.

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He sued Robinson for the assault, and recovered a verdict for two thousand pounds. Robinson seems to have been hot blooded and not bad at heart, because he made an abject apology to Otis, and offered to make good the judgment, but the lawyer with characteristic nobility of soul gave him a receipt in full for the entire amount and would accept no money from the commissioner.

In his declining health and brain-power, he served the country the best he could. He was the colleague of Samuel Adams in October of that year, and with the latter drew the official answer of the town-meeting which was copied and sent to England. In 1770 he retired into the country for the recovery of his health. He was re-elected in 1771 to be a representative, but served only a few days, his brain again giving away under the strain of work. The same year he retired from the practice of the law, as he found that he was beginning to forget facts and words the moment he rose to his feet to address the court.

From now on he made his home largely with his sister, who seemed to exercise a power over him that no one else had. His mental ailment rendered him harmless, and yet did not prevent him from forming vague ideas of what was going on. Shortly after the battle of Lexington he heard rumors of war, and one evening in June he left the house, borrowed a musket from a neighbor and joined the minute-men who were marching on to Bunker Hill. The excitement of battle restored his reason for an interval during which he fought in that famous fight, and when it was over, he found his way back to his sister's home.

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Now and then his great brain freed itself from the bonds of disease and disclosed the eminent lawyer, orator and patriot. In 1778, during one of these intervals, he went to Boston and argued a case with remarkable skill. As he finished the trial, insanity drew its pall over him, and he had to be led away. In lucid moments he heard with joy the news of Colonial triumphs, and finally of peace and independence. In non-lucid moments, he was still as fascinating as ever to those about him. His mind acted with feverish intensity and made his conversation extraordinary with wit, humor, anecdote and quotation. Through it ran the incoherency of madness, but never enough to make it unpleasant or painful.

In 1783, while standing at the doorway of his residence at Andover, during a thunder storm, a bolt from heaven struck him and he passed painlessly away. During the latter part of his life his infirmities did not prevent his being of use to his talented sister in her literary work. Even in his mad moods he could criticize, correct and suggest. His misfortune seems to have inspired her to greater exertions for the cause of the Colonies. Certain it is that after the Robinson incident and the failure of her brother's intellect, she broadened into one of the ablest Revolutionary thinkers and writers of her time.

Otis's services to the Republic were of two-fold nature. His great oration on the writs of assistance, and his other speeches and writings, were the first and strongest contributions to the gathering forces of nationality. He was unconsciously the mouthpiece of an invisible movement

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which was to shake a continent. Of great though smaller moment than the first was his work as a popular representative. Here he was one of a group of heroic men which included Samuel and John Adams, Hancock, the two Warrens, Gerry, Knox and the other personalities of the Revolution in Massachusetts.

To him is largely due the Stamp Act Congress, which was the first expression of American sovereignty. If men are pawns on the chessboard of history, he was the King's piece, which opened the great game between the Colonies and England. The part which he played was not as conspicuous as those of the men who came after him any more than the simple move of the pawn is to be compared with that of bishop, castle and queen, but without that first move the others would have been vastly different. His own contribution to the nation's good was invaluable. His oration upon the writs of assistance was more than a bugle-blast and more than a forensic masterpiece. Unconsciously it was a voice to which all hearers ascribed authority. It brought men together in every community and crystalized the sentiment, which, expressing itself in the Stamp Act Congress, was to burgeon into the Continental Congress of ten years afterwards. To the roll of patriotism and to the bar he added a name which will always be regarded as an honor by the American nation.

## ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON

*Born, November 27, 1746; Died, February 26, 1813.*

**N**O New York family holds a prouder record than that of Livingston. From early Knickerbocker times to the present day its sons have been conspicuous by their talents and virtues. In peace they have been marked by industry, enterprise and intellectuality, and in war by dauntless courage and military skill. When the British Colonies in America endeavored to obtain justice and redress, first by amicable means, and last by the sword, they had no better soldiers and statesmen than the men whom the Livingston family lent to the nation.

Of the twenty members of the race who took part in this giant struggle, the most notable was Robert R., better known perhaps as the Chancellor. His ancestor, the founder of the name in this country, was the Rev. John Livingston, a non-conforming Scotch clergyman, who rather than outrage his conscience, emigrated from his home to Holland, where he became a prominent clerical leader in the early part of the Seventeenth century. He took kindly to the broad-minded Dutchmen, who in turn loved the stern and handsome Scotch prelate.

Upon his advice his son Robert crossed the ocean to the New World, and settled in the New Netherlands in 1674.





ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON

*From an engraving of the painting by Vanderlyn*

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## ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON

He prospered in his new home, and six years later obtained a patent for Livingston Manor, which comprised a noble estate of one hundred and sixty thousand acres. Four sons and two daughters kept up the family name in the second generation. The third generation increased the power and wealth of the house, and in its old age saw the outbreak of the Revolution, in which it fought and suffered for the cause of freedom. To this generation belonged Philip the Signer. Of the same generation was Judge Robert, another distinguished patriot, while in the fourth generation the Chancellor, who was the son of Judge Robert, became the foremost figure of the family.

The Chancellor was born in New York city, where his father was a prominent lawyer and an Admiralty judge. He received an excellent primary education, was prepared for college by tutors, and entered King's College (now Columbia University), where he was graduated in 1765. In the class ahead of him was a young man whose friendship he won, named John Jay, and in the class below him another young man, Henry Rutgers. The three students became warmly attached to one another, little dreaming that each was to play so important a part within the next twenty years, Jay as diplomat, Livingston as a jurist, and Rutgers as a soldier, all working together in a cause which in the beginning seemed practically hopeless.

The Chancellor's home life was exceedingly happy. His father possessed notable culture, and his mother, Margaret Beekman, was a woman of almost virile mentality and trained knowledge. In summer he spent his vacations at

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his grandfather's manor house at Clermont, which was a headquarters of the old Knickerbocker society of that period. He was not left alone to grow up according to his own devices. Both father and mother were marked by deep parental love and ambition, and insisted upon their children having not only a thorough education, but every accomplishment. With such parents, it was but natural that the Chancellor and the other children should have developed into well rounded and finely equipped types of manhood and womanhood.

This home influence must have been of singular power, for of the three sons whom it fashioned for the battle of life, not only Robert R., but the other two rose to fame, Henry Beekman becoming a brigadier-general in the Revolution, and Edward the great lawyer who drafted the Louisiana Code. After graduation from college, Robert studied and travelled for several years and then began the study of the law in the office of William Smith and William Livingston, his kinsman, who afterwards became the war Governor of New Jersey.

Admitted to the bar in 1773, he formed a law partnership with his college friend John Jay. Upon the dissolution of the firm, which had lasted a brief period, Livingston continued the business alone, and soon made name and income. The same year he was appointed Recorder of the City of New York by Governor William Tryon. The honor was partly in the nature of a reward for the services of the family during the French war, as well as a political manœuvre toward securing the family influence on the

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side of the administration. In this game of politics, Governor Tryon, whose intentions were far better than his wisdom, reckoned without his host. The young lawyer, who had already expressed himself with considerable force upon the Navigation Acts and other legislation by Parliament in regard to the Colonies, was as outspoken as ever. He would not allow the dignity of his office to silence his voice when his people were threatened with irreparable injury and loss.

If he had been a power for sedition when a private citizen, that power was more than double now that he held a high place in the local government. Tryon was averse to bringing matters to a focus and tried by pacific means to induce the Recorder to change his attitude or else to preserve a discreet silence. When this failed, he warned the patriotic judge that his conduct was becoming a scandal to the administration. Then came threats, which proved as futile as had been entreaties, and in 1775 the Governor was compelled to remove him from office.

It might have been better for Tryon to have allowed Livingston to remain. The removal did not affect the latter in the least. He was too broad-minded to entertain any resentment against the administration for his official decapitation; neither did the loss of a handsome salary affect him perceptibly. On the other hand the Governor's action made the Ex-Recorder a martyr in the sight of the common people, who now looked up to him as one of the chief defenders of their rights and liberties. So large a figure in the public eye did the removal make him that the Provin-

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cial Assembly now elected him a delegate to the Second Continental Congress which met in Philadelphia.

In this historic body, which represented the intellect, wealth and patriotism of the thirteen oppressed commonwealths, Livingston was soon recognized as a leader. He was a logical and strong speaker, but at the same time so calm and self-possessed as to seem an old man despite his youth and vigor. Trained, cultured and travelled he was more versatile and better rounded than most of his illustrious colleagues. Though but thirty years of age his mind was marked by a judicial tone which rendered it as strong a weapon in the conflict of opinion as forensic brilliance or political skill. His eloquence must have been of the finest type, for in that galaxy of orators he received the name of "The Cicero of America."

Powerful in discussion, quick in repartee, familiar with parliamentary practice, tireless in committee work, he made himself an invaluable member of the National legislature. In the deliberations of that body his course was marked by cautious progressiveness. He was one of the few who never had to take back to-morrow what they said to-day. In the beginning he was regarded as a conservative, but as the days passed by his colleagues recognized that what they had considered conservatism was practical wisdom. A legislator who can instinctively balance or reconcile theoretical and practical necessities when these conflict is a statesman of the first rank. Livingston, as early as 1775, foresaw that the movement of which he was a leader meant a revolution, not only in the external relations of the Colonies to

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the mother country, but in nearly all the internal relations under which the New World had grown into a series of thirteen commonwealths. That this Revolution would work out its full results he never doubted for a second. That these steps should be taken slowly and successively in order to prevent disorder and anarchy was equally clear to his vision. In nearly all of the measures whereupon he cast a vote, he took that course which would insure progress on the one side and order and system upon the other.

When therefore a committee was appointed by Congress to draft a Declaration of Independence, he was one of the five to whom was assigned the honor. The committee prepared the Declaration which was submitted to Congress and adopted on the 4th of July, 1776. The honor of signing the Declaration he voluntarily relinquished in order to attend to his duties at home.

He had been a member of the Third Provincial Congress of New York which met in May and June of that year (1776), and of the Fourth, which convened in July immediately following. Upon the adoption of the Declaration he went to the New York Convention. An enthusiastic welcome was accorded to him by the delegates, who upon his entrance were discussing the change of the name of New York from Colony to State. His vote was duly recorded in the affirmative. On August 1st a committee of thirteen, including Livingston, was appointed to draft a State Constitution. On account of the troublous times the Congress was compelled to move from place to place, meeting at White Plains, Harlem, Kingsbridge, Philipse Manor, Fish-

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kill and Kingston, and the committee of thirteen never coming together as an entirety during that time. By common consent the duty of preparing the Constitution was transferred to Jay, Livingston and Gouverneur Morris. This is a good illustration of the power of young men in politics. The sub-committee consisted of what were termed the "boys" of the Congress. John Jay was then thirty-two; Livingston thirty, and Morris twenty-five. They were united by college ties; Morris belonging to the class of 1768, three years after Livingston's. They belonged to wealthy and distinguished families, and in their present course of action they were staking everything they had in life for the sake of liberty and independence.

The following April the Constitution was adopted by the Convention, which met at Kingston. At this session a committee of six, on which were again the three young men, was appointed to plan the State government. Prior to adjourning a committee of fifteen members was empowered to govern the State until an election could be held. This Committee was called the Council of Safety, and to it was granted absolute sovereignty. For the immediate execution of the laws, Livingston was made chancellor and John Jay, chief justice. From now on until his death he was a monument of activity in all the higher fields of the intellect. Law, diplomacy, politics, statesmanship, science, invention, discovery and the fine arts received his attention and in each he did work, and achieved results that made him a benefactor of the American people.

Under the new Constitution he became chancellor, and



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remained in office until 1801, during which time he made a record for judicial learning, eloquence, and probity, which will never be forgotten in the history of the bar and bench. He served in the Continental Congress till 1777 and again from 1779 to 1781. He was one of the leaders of the movement in New York State for the adoption of the Federal Constitution, and was a giant in the bitter struggle which occurred at that time. The convention which was elected to consider the instrument elected him its chairman, and both as presiding officer and as member he left no stone unturned to have the Empire State ratify the great charter of the Union. During the Confederacy he was Secretary of foreign affairs from 1781 to 1783, and took part in the negotiations which brought about the termination of the Revolution.

General Washington offered him the embassy to France in 1794, which he declined on account of his duties to his own State. Jefferson tendered to him the secretaryship of the Navy and met with a similar refusal. In 1801 the chancellorship expired by limitation and he then accepted the mission to France. Here he served for four years, during which time, he won the friendship and admiration of Napoleon Bonaparte and the diplomats of Europe. He was the agent of Thomas Jefferson in the purchase of Louisiana in 1803. While at Versailles, he made the acquaintance of Robert Fulton, with whom he took up the study of the application of steam to navigation. Livingston had already given the matter considerable thought and had mastered the method by which the mining engineers of Eng-

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land utilized steam in pumping great bulks of water from deep mines. To his surprise, he found that Fulton had covered the same ground with greater skill and attention to details than he himself. What was even more astonishing both men had planned similar methods for the solution of the problem. The difference between the plans of the two men was that Livingston was a theoretician while Fulton had devoted himself chiefly to the practical side of the problem. It was in 1803, when the Chancellor was busy over the details of the Louisiana Purchase, that he and Fulton built a steamboat which was launched upon the Seine. There had been some miscalculation in regard to weights, so that the boat's gravity was greater than that of water. It accordingly went promptly to the bottom. They raised the foundered craft, transferred the machinery to a larger vessel and with this made a successful trial trip. Although the speed developed was small, yet the two men realized that the problem had at last found a solution at their hands. They ordered an engine from the firm of Watt and Boulton in England which was made and shipped to America, the Chancellor defraying the heavy expense involved.

Upon his return to the United States, he ordered a vessel for the engines which had now arrived, and upon the launching named it Clermont after his family seat, and more especially his grandfather, whose family soubriquet had been Robert of Clermont. While the honor of steam navigation has been awarded by the world to Fulton, he was merely the strongest personality of a number of tal-

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ented men, who were attacking the problem at the same time. Civilization had reached a point at which the sailing vessel was insufficient for the demands of commerce, and in response to the necessities of the social organism a score of men were working to accomplish the result. Beside Fulton and Livingston were Rumsey, Fitch, Miller, Read, Longstreet, Stanhope, Stevens, Morey and Roosevelt.

The accidental rencontre of Fulton with Livingston simply accelerated the successful use of the invention. The most singular feature of it all is that a wealthy lawyer, judge and diplomat should have had the talents and tastes of a mechanical engineer.

Upon retiring from the diplomatic service the Chancellor devoted his remaining eight years to the interests of art, literature and agriculture. Among other positions of importance and public spirit which he occupied was the first presidency of the American Academy of Fine Arts, the presidency of the New York Society for the Promotion of Useful Arts, and a trusteeship of the New York Society Library.

From the beginning to the end of his illustrious career he enjoyed the esteem and love of the people. When New York was called upon to place at the National capital the statues of her two greatest sons, she chose with singular justice Chancellor Robert R. Livingston and Governor George Clinton. It may be questioned if any American had a more brilliant career than Chancellor Livingston. In his youth he was a member of the aristocratic Knickerbocker society of New York and a friend of the gaily

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dressed and well bred men and women who were to be widely divided into antagonistic factions by the Revolution. He sat in Independence Hall and listened to that deathless debate out of which came the Declaration of Independence. When the Colonial cause seemed hopeless and the noose confronted each leading rebel, he sat undaunted in the Continental Congress and fought the good fight with the same sang froid as that with which he had led a minuet at the Clermont Manor house. He was one of the framers of the New York Constitution and the chancellor under its provision for an entire generation.

Next to Washington, his was the commanding figure at the inauguration of the first President at the City Hall, Wall street, in New York city on April 30, 1789. The occasion will never be forgotten. The nation had been twice reborn out of the throes and anguish of civil war, it had won the priceless jewel of liberty and independence and in the crucible of disorder and malgovernment it had forged the Constitution and become a mighty commonwealth. What appealed even more to the popular heart was that it had unanimously chosen for its first ruler the man who had led its armies through the seven weary years of conflict.

As inauguration day approached the country began to wear a new expression. For the first time people realized that a new light had dawned upon their horizons and a new era begun. From Philadelphia to New York, Washington's route was indicated by arches, decorations and cheering multitudes. At the latter city every house was in

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gala attire, and every ship in the harbor covered with bunting. From the four quarters of the compass had come all who could get away, soldiers who had fought at Valley Forge, statesmen and officials from State capitals, officers and sailors of the struggling navy, sightseers from abroad and enthusiastic patriots from home. So vast was the throng that it was difficult for the presidential party to pass from the landing to the City Hall. The President was accompanied by a committee from Congress, officers of the army and militia, committees from the State and Civil governments of New York and delegations from the thirteen Commonwealths. The streets were solid with humanity, and every doorway, window and roof crowded with enthusiastic men and women. Flags and handkerchiefs waved as far as the eye could reach, and from girls and women showers of flowers fell upon the President and his cortege. From every steeple the church bells rung, and from muskets and cannon, mortars and howitzers, came an endless roar of welcome. Six days of festivity passed such as the metropolis had never seen before, nor has ever seen since. It was a carnival, where joy, gratitude and patriotism ran riot.

On the 30th all business was suspended. It could not have been otherwise, because the noisy, good natured crowds made the thoroughfares practically impassable. Beyond the citizens and guests were thousands of wagons and carriages filled with country folk, who laughed and sang the day long. Conspicuous among these were huge hay carts laden with odorous timothy and clover, on which sat stal-

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wart farmers with buxom wives and daughters, gazing benignantly down upon the people below them. At nine in the morning each church opened its doors and rang its bells to implore the blessing of Heaven on the Nation and its chosen President. When the services closed the military started mobilization. From their quarters they marched to the thunder of music and guns unto the rendezvous in Cherry street, opposite Washington's residence. In the place of honor following Washington and the committee of Congress were Chancellor Livingston, John Jay and General Knox.

Amid huzzaing thousands the procession reached the City Hall, where Washington alighted from his chariot and ascended to the Senate Chamber in that building. At the door he was welcomed by Vice-President John Adams, who conducted him to a chair upon the platform and introduced him to the senators of the Nation. From here Washington, escorted by Adams, walked to the balcony which overlooked Broad and Wall streets, and looked down upon a sea of humanity laughing, chatting and singing. As the group appeared high up before their eyes silence fell upon the mighty throng. There stood Washington attired in the simple but rich clothing of that period and opposite him Chancellor Livingston in the long judicial robe of his high office. Between them was the Secretary of the Senate holding in his arms a crimson velvet cushion on which rested an open Bible. Washington bowed, laid his hand upon the book and the Chancellor slowly uttered the sim-

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ple words of the oath of office. The President kissed the volume and said: "I swear, so help me God."

"It is done," said the Chancellor, who turned to the people beneath the balcony and raising his hand aloft cried, so that all might hear, "Long Live George Washington, President of the United States."

For a second there was a sigh which died away in a storm of cheers. The sound rolled up and down Broad and Wall streets and thence into the other thoroughfares of the city. The roar was answered from the steeples by a hundred bells and these in turn by cannon ashore and upon the ships in the bay. As the noise died down, there came the distant boom of artillery from the Jersey shore, Staten Island, Brooklyn, and Williamsburg. Again the cheers broke forth from every throat and these faded into songs and hymns, whistles from excited urchins and shouts from enthusiastic men.

Among the Builders of the Republic the great Chancellor stands second only to Franklin in the versatility of genius. As a jurist he belongs to the same class as Marshall and Kent; as an orator he may be compared with Henry, Adams, and Otis; as a scientist and inventor he was a second edition of Franklin; as a legislator and executive he was cast in the same mould with Jefferson, Madison and Sherman; as a diplomat, he will not suffer by contrast with John Adams or John Jay. In culture, he was one of the first five of the Revolution, and in patriotism, industry and energy, he had no superior.

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To a family whose members had achieved distinction in every field, public and private, he added so many laurels as to be the first in their roll of honor. To the Empire State the services which he rendered helped to make it the leader among the thirteen Commonwealths. The nation to which he gave the largest and most important part of his life will ever owe to him, the honor, love and respect befitting one of its founders.



## JOHN MARSHALL

*Born, September 24, 1755; Died, July 6, 1835.*

**T**HOUGH renowned as a soldier, statesman and patriot, it will be as a jurist and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court that John Marshall will be always remembered by the great republic. In his own field he stands alone. Opinions may differ upon the great soldiers and executives of the Revolution, but there never has been nor will be any difference respecting the unique grandeur of the Virginia lawyer.

Among the children of men, he was one of Karma's first favorites. His heredity was admirable. The race was seemingly of Anglo-Welsh stock, possessing the solidity of the one with the hardiness, impetuosity and vitality of the other. The first of whom there is any record was John Marshall, a Captain of the Horse, who served under the luckless Charles I. He was a gallant soldier, who stood by his King to the last and then discouraged or disgusted with his land and its people, came to the New World, settling in Westmoreland county, Virginia, about 1650. Here he took up a large plantation and became the head of a family which was to win distinction in both Virginia and Kentucky.

His sons, Thomas and John, were seeming duplicates of the founder. They were brave, intelligent and industrious

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planters, who conquered the wilderness, fought the Indians, brought up large families and attended faithfully to their duties, private and public.

John appears to have increased his inherited estates by purchase, while Thomas devoted much of his time to affairs outside of agriculture. He was a schoolmate of George Washington, a surveyor, a lieutenant, and then a captain of militia in the French and Indian wars, and in middle life an agent of Lord Fairfax. His wife was Mary Isham Keith, a daughter of a popular Episcopal divine, by whom he had fifteen children.

Of his many offspring, John, the future chief justice, was the oldest. Both the husband and wife had literary tastes far in advance of their time. Their library was a wonder in their town, and here and there in the records are evidences of the interest they took in the world of letters. Thus in a list of subscribers to the first American edition of Blackstone's Commentaries are two significant names, John Adams, Barrister at Law, Boston, and Captain Thomas Marshall, Clerk of Dunmore county, Virginia. The former entry was not as eloquent as the latter. Adams was a lawyer of high standing and success, and might be expected to buy an expensive work of this class for professional purposes; but with Marshall it was different. For him to be interested in the volume is evidence that he must have been a man of ambition and broad reading.

The Marshall home was a school in itself, of which the teachers were the parents. In every probability, they were

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better pedagogues than the poorly-paid schoolmasters and curates who gave private lessons in that part of the country in those years. John declared his father to have been a man of signal ability, "far abler," he added, "than any of his sons." If the good captain had a fad, it was English literature. He believed that the education of a gentleman was incomplete which did not have a thorough course in English prose and verse. The children, for their daily tasks, had the best books assigned to them and in addition to this they read aloud to show that they understood what they were reading, and in turn listened while the father or mother read aloud to them.

Outside of the home circle, John seems to have received comparatively little instruction. For a year or more, he studied under a private teacher, the Rev. James Thompson, a Scotch pastor of considerable learning, with a strong taste for dialectics. At fourteen years of age he went to a school in Westmoreland county, where his father had studied before him, and where among the students was a boy named James Monroe, who was long afterwards to become President of the United States. Here he remained for a year and then returned to the parental mansion.

He resumed his tasks under his former teacher, and at eighteen began the study of the law, his attention having been drawn to it by a copy of Blackstone in his father's library. His early home at Germantown, in Fauquier county, and his second home at Oakhill, in the western part of that shire, were situated on wild land conducive to open air exercise and sport. Here the young student developed

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an agility and strength which were to carry him with wondrous vigor throughout his long life. From the first he loved those games which demanded quickness rather than power, and in this way became a matchless runner and jumper. His most famous feat was to put a rod upon the heads of the two tallest men in his circle of friends or in the military company which he afterwards commanded, and then with a long run clear this at the first take-off. The stick was a half an inch in diameter and on one occasion the men were each a trifle over six feet in height, so that the jump must have been at least six feet one inch high, a record equal to almost anything done in these days of athletic pursuits. From boyhood up he wore blue yarn stockings with white heels and toes, which had been knitted by his mother. In running and jumping the white always showed, and as he was invariably in the lead in the foot-races of his time, he came to be known by the pleasant title of "Silver Heels," a nickname that clung to him until late in life.

When in his teens he began to pay close attention to political affairs, and like his parents espoused the Colonial cause. As early as 1772, when but seventeen years of age, he seems to have studied military science under his father's direction. He was already a capital shot with the rifle and a deft hand with the hunting knife. When in 1775 there came a call for minute-men, both father and sons answered promptly. No less than three of the latter fought with the former throughout the long contest. A regiment was formed of which the father was made major and John a

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lieutenant. He was now nearly twenty years old, six feet tall, slender, straight as an arrow, olive-skinned, dark eyed, black-haired, and with an expression which simply beamed with good nature. His uniform was a blue hunting shirt and trousers, the latter fringed with white. A small black hat with a buck's tail for a cockade, and moccasins or hunting boots, completed what must have been a very picturesque uniform.

Though a novice in warfare his sound sense taught him that discipline was the first, last, and chief condition of success. He never tired of drilling his men and of putting them through evolutions to conform to any possible situation which might occur in battle. Not only the regular tactics of the time but also Indian fighting, surprise and ambush parties, lake and stream swimming, and lying under cover, were in the curriculum through which he put his friends and neighbors from Fauquier county. Good marksmanship he insisted upon, and when he found a soldier was too poor to afford the powder and bullets, which were much more costly in those days than now, he used his own purse to supply the soldiers' need.

A little pleasantry which he devised was to produce consternation among British regulars before many months had passed by. Beside the rifles and hunting knives which formed the equipment of his men he added tomahawks or small hatchets patterned after the Indian weapon.

As a kill-time, in leisure hours, both he and his men practiced throwing the tomahawk in Indian fashion. As a matter of fact the little hatchets were intended for the peaceful

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purposes of life in the open and not for those of martial nature. Not once in the war did the minute-men throw them, but their very presence started thrilling stories which ran through the British army and through the English press. The dirks became distorted into scalping-knives and the tomahawks into deadly missiles with which the savage Virginians could kill at fifty paces. These stories went so far as to describe imaginary combats in which brave sons of England stood up and were hacked to pieces with the barbarous war hatchets of their bloodthirsty and rebellious antagonists.

From 1775 until the end of 1779 he served with gallantry and distinction, rising to be captain. As a soldier he displayed marked fidelity and military skill. More notable than these qualities which were a common characteristic of the American forces were his good nature and urbanity. These were organic and not assumed. They made him beloved by his men, and caused acquaintances and even strangers to select him as an arbiter or disinterested third party in matters of contention and strife. Wherever he came he brought peace and good-feeling with him, and in this way attracted the notice, approbation and finally the affection of his superior officers. His fame spread and at last reached the ears of the generals, including the Commander-in-Chief himself. It was in this fashion that he won the friendship of Washington, Hamilton, Knox and the other military leaders of the nation.

In the fall of 1779 he was ordered to Virginia to oversee the raising and forwarding of troops to the scene of action.

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The work was so light as to be almost nominal, and the young captain took advantage of it to attend the law lectures and to study natural philosophy at William and Mary College. In the following summer he was licensed to practice law; but another season of hostility came on in which he fought bravely, and not until the spring of 1781 did he take up the study of law as a serious profession.

Six years of army life had made him beloved among the people, and had changed a handsome boy to a magnificent looking man. His law practice increased rapidly, and in 1782 he was elected to the House of Burgesses, and thereafter made a member of the State Council. So great was his popularity, that when he resigned his political office in order to devote himself exclusively to his calling, the people immediately re-elected him to the position vacated.

In 1787 occurred the highest compliment which can be paid to a man of high independent thought. Marshall was a determined advocate of the new Federal Constitution which had just been adopted by the Constitutional Convention, while the people of Richmond and its neighborhood, whom he represented in the legislature, were opposed to its ratification. When it came to election time, the nominating committee called upon him and asked him to pledge himself to vote against adoption, if a member of that body. He not only refused to pledge himself, but declared that he favored the immortal document. The committee reported the result of its visit to the citizens, who after considerable consultation determined to elect Marshall, no matter what his views were, feeling confident that

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he would act for their welfare and with the wisdom which they all recognized and admired.

This was a blow to Patrick Henry, who was fighting the Constitution with all his power, and who wanted an anti-Federalist sent to the legislature from the district, but Marshall was elected and in the long debate which occurred at Richmond he led the forces in favor of ratification, which through his eloquence, scholarship and magnificent legal power won the day.

In the struggle over the Virginia Constitution, which ran along similar lines, he and Madison were the twin champions of the progressive element of the State, and scored a similar victory when it came to the final vote. In the mean time his practice had increased. By 1792 he had become the leader of the Virginia bar. His work was not confined to any one set of cases or courts. The calendars show him to have been retained in nearly every important litigation in both the State and Federal courts of his period in Virginia.

Already, had he made a specialty of international and constitutional jurisprudence, perceiving that the questions they involved were to affect the future course of both State and Union. He kept in touch with public affairs and was a stalwart and invincible champion of Washington's administration. The latter recognized the obligation, and in 1795 offered him the place of Attorney-General, and in 1796 of Envoy to France. But Marshall's vast practice compelled him to decline both honors. In 1797, President Adams appointed him with General Charles Cotesworth



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Pinckney and Elbridge Gerry, joint envoys to France. Richmond gave an ovation to him in appreciation of the compliment paid by the chief magistrate. He arrived in Paris with his colleagues, where Talleyrand and his agents endeavored to cajole and blackmail them.

Marshall responded with a force and courage which marked the man, throwing aside diplomatic finesse and hypocritical circumlocution. America was a very small power in those days, and the French foreign office treated the envoys with an insulting condescension which nearly provoked war. Marshall and Pinckney received their papers and were ordered from France. The news of the indignity and his superb behavior had preceded him home, and on his arrival he was the recipient of more demonstrations of regard than if he had brought back every treaty desired by the government. Patrick Henry, his old antagonist, lost all political feeling in his admiration of the man, and wrote to a mutual friend, "Tell Marshall I love him because he felt and acted as a Republican, as an American." The President offered him a seat on the Supreme Court Bench, and in a letter announcing his intentions he wrote, "Of the three envoys, the conduct of Marshall alone had been entirely satisfactory, and ought to be marked by the most decided approbation of the public. He has raised the American people in their own esteem, and if the influence of truth and justice, reason and argument, is not lost in Europe, he has raised the consideration of the United States in that quarter of the world."

In 1799 the people of Virginia elected him to Congress

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very much against his will. Here he made one of the great legal speeches of the world. It was upon extradition and international rights and duties as affecting criminals. It won the House of Representatives, which had been adverse, and was accepted as an authoritative statement of the law in such matters by the law writers of both England and America. It has been followed by the courts of both countries up to the present time. He was now nominated for Secretary of War, and while this was pending, for Secretary of State. The nomination was confirmed by the Senate, and he filled the office with great ability and credit.

His appointment to the Chief Justiceship came in November, 1800. Marshall, with a lawyer's spirit, was nervous about the vacancy, and called upon the President to recommend a distinguished jurist for the position. Before he could speak Adams said, "General Marshall, you need not give yourself any further trouble about that matter. I have made up my mind about it."

"I am happy to hear that you are relieved upon the subject," said the Secretary of War. "May I ask whom you have fixed upon?"

"Certainly," answered the President, with a very serious look upon his countenance, and speaking very slowly, "I have concluded to nominate a person whom it may surprise you to hear mentioned. It is a Virginia lawyer,—a plain man,—by the name of,—John Marshall."

In spite of the bitter political feeling of the time the nomination was unanimously confirmed, and for thirty-five years he maintained the honor and prestige of the United



**CHIEF JUSTICE JOHN MARSHALL**

*From the painting by Martin (1814) in the robing-room of the Justices, Supreme Court, Washington*

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States Supreme Court, making it one of the greatest tribunals the world has ever known. His written opinions and judgments make an entire literature by themselves, whose legal, political, historical, intellectual and literary value cannot be too highly praised. During that long period, although he had colleagues of great eminence, he incarnated the Supreme Court.

The flying years have clouded and hidden forever the names of scores of great judges and jurists, but have only served to increase the luster of that of John Marshall. His transcendent ability has been recognized by all the world, and his opinions meet with the same profound respect in the courts of France and Germany as they do in those of Great Britain and the United States.

His mentality was that of the statesman, the poet, and the logician, as well as that of the lawyer and magistrate. The charm of his adjudication lay in the singular power wherewith he made the simple determination the expression or the exemplification of a principle of general or universal application. To his mind, law was a world-wide science and not a congeries of disconnected and unorganized precedents. He used induction and deduction with a master hand, but beyond these he always brought to bear the intellectual processes which make facts but the symbols of eternal laws. Even to readers unlearned in jurisprudence his opinions are of interest and delight. Upon him has been bestowed the title of "The Expounder of the Constitution," but he was more than this. To his clear vision that great document was not a set of rules to be construed

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as a lawyer construes the statutes under which a client is indicted, but a statement of principles framed by patriots for the best interests of a nation to be applied in the broadest and most liberal spirit to every and all problems which presented themselves in the administration of public affairs. He breathed into the dead words the breath of life and gave to the Constitution the same importance that the English people did to Magna Charta. Great as was the soldier, jurist and judge, the man behind them all was greater still.

There was a certain Gothic simplicity in his character which endeared him to all who came within the influence of his presence, and which shines out through his public performance. Never could he forget the little in the great nor lose the sight of that humanity which is larger than nationality, courts and congresses. Who but a Marshall could, when court was over and some case of international importance passed upon, spring upon his horse and gallop out to the fields to get a "breath of decent air" and "see trees and green things." How many justices or chief justices have there ever been, who when the robes of office were discarded, would stroll to the nearest green and play quoits with all the abandon and heartiness of boyhood?

On one occasion while standing in the market, a self-important young man who had purchased a turkey and was too lazy or proud to carry it home himself, accosted the Chief Justice, who was plainly dressed as usual, and said, "Do you want a job, my friend? If you'll carry this turkey along with me, I'll give you a nine-pence!"

Marshall bowed, took the bird, and accompanied his em-

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ployer to the latter's home. Again he bowed and thanked the young man when he received the nine-pence. A passerby, who knew the judge, halted and removed his hat. As Marshall passed away the young man, perplexed, said,

"Who is that old chap?"

"That shabby old chap, young man," was the reply, "is John Marshall, the Chief Justice of the United States."

No fairer view of the man's soul can be obtained than from his domestic life. He married Mary Willis Ambler in 1788, the bride being sixteen and the groom twenty-eight. They lived together for fifty years, during which time he was as assiduous in his attentions as when he wooed and won her. Every year he celebrated her birthday and their wedding-day, while on Washington's birthday and the Fourth of July, he invariably drove her out of the town early in the morning to escape the patriotic noise which made the place hideous. Though for forty-nine years she was an invalid, much of the time helpless, it never changed the romance of his love. He kept to the end of his life the little trinkets and love tokens and many of the notes she had sent to him during the half century in which they had been united.

When his will was found, within it lay a paper on which was written in his own hand an exquisite tribute to his wife then sleeping in the grave. No nobler homage could be paid to a woman than this, "She became at sixteen a most devoted wife. All my faults, and they were too many, could never weaken this sentiment. They formed a part

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of her existence. Her judgment was so sound and so deep that I have often relied upon it in situations of some perplexity. I do not recollect once to have regretted the adoption of her opinion. I have sometimes regretted its rejection."



## GOUVERNEUR MORRIS

*Born, January 31, 1752; Died, November 6, 1816.*

OF the many distinguished sons which the Morris family of New York gave to the Republic in the hour of its birth, none equaled Gouverneur, half-brother of Colonel Lewis Morris, the Signer of the Declaration of Independence, in the balance and power of his intellectual nature, and none surpassed him in the extent and value of the services rendered to the Commonwealth. From his father, Judge Lewis Morris, the Chief Admiralty Magistrate of the Colonies in the middle of the eighteenth century, and, from his mother, Sarah Gouverneur, a talented belle of Huguenot descent, he inherited an impressive and forcible personality. The former was celebrated for his wit, tact, learning and probity, and the latter for her determination, courtesy and accomplishments.

The family was wealthy and distinguished in nearly all of its branches. By marriage it was connected with many of the more eminent families of the twin colonies of New York and New Jersey. At their reunions which took place sometimes in one Colony and sometimes the other, fifty and even sixty guests would be present, all of whom held high positions in the army, the government, the church and the professions. Many of the members were a trifle overbearing in their manners, and seem to have deserved the satirical

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title of "aristocrat," which was conferred upon them by their enemies of that time. From this pardonable trait, the young man was apparently free throughout his life.

Though rendered fatherless at the age of twelve, the death of his sire did not deprive him of the advantages to which he was born. He was deeply loved by his father, whose chief desire was to give the boy the best and most thorough education which wealth and high abilities could provide. This was so much of a fetish that in his will is the significant clause, "It is my desire that my son, Gouverneur Morris may have the best education that is to be had in England or America."

The will was faithfully carried out by the mother, whose ideas and desires in this respect were those of the father. With such parentage the boy could not have been other than precocious. At six he could read and write well, and at seven was as far advanced as most boys at twelve.

His mother, who had been teaching him French, noticed that he was acquiring a bad accent and thereupon sent him to a private tutor in New Rochelle, a Professor Tetar, who had come to this country in search of a fortune, but had settled down to be a private schoolmaster. His school was admirably managed, and little Morris enjoyed it from the first. Only French was spoken in the family circle, so that ere a year had passed the boy had mastered it in a manner which satisfied the teacher and astonished his relatives. In his other studies, he made such progress that he was able to matriculate at Kings College (now Columbia University) when only twelve years of age. His collegiate

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career was marked by what is a rare combination, good fellowship and fine scholarship. He was one of the leaders in sports and games, and at the same time the head of nearly every class in college. Upon graduation he was invited to go abroad and travel, but with the ambition which marked his life he declined peremptorily and entered the law office of William Smith, who is best known as the great Provincial Chief Justice and the Colonial Historian.

He could not have selected an office for which he was better adapted. His employer was a man of rare ability and culture, who treated law as a science and not a mere technical calling. He believed that a lawyer should have a thorough knowledge of every subject which might be involved in the course of a litigation, and insisted upon the students in his office reading history, philosophy and literature as well as the professional text-books then in vogue. Gouverneur won Smith's heart from the outset. The latter helped the student in every way, and even went over his literary compositions to point out infelicities and to suggest possible improvement. It was in this office when but eighteen that Morris wrote a series of anonymous articles on finance in which he attacked the system of paper money then in use, and pointed out the true principles upon which all currency should be based. The letters seemed to be the work of a banker or experienced lawyer, and were discussed, applauded and controverted. No one knew at first that the author was a tall, handsome young stripling, occupying a desk in a downtown law office. So thorough had been his studies that when he came up for the bar exami-

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nation he was admitted and lauded by the examiners. He received his license as attorney when but nineteen years and nine months of age and was probably the youngest member of the bar in the early history of the Colonies.

No one was more pleased with his success than his employer. He called Gouverneur into the private office and said, "Now that you are a member of the profession, what do you propose doing?"

The young man was a trifle vain of his prowess and answered, "I think I'll now go abroad and see Europe. I want to rub off the many barbarisms, which characterize provincial education," and then with his father's tact he added, "to form some acquaintances that may hereafter be of service to me, to model myself after some persons who cut a figure in the law," and here he bowed to his employer.

The old man smiled as he replied, "Do nothing of the sort. You have simply prepared yourself for the profession and know what the tools of your calling are. Now go ahead and learn how to use those tools. Think and work, work and think!"

Gouverneur took the advice, and from 1771 to 1774 seems to have passed most of his time with his books or else with men of prominence, discussing the affairs of State. In the agitation which prevailed he found himself in an embarrassing position. While his family both by blood and marriage were in the main upon the Colonial side, their vast landed and commercial interests led them to favor a policy of conciliation rather than of antagonism to the Mother country. They were not Tories nor even loyalists.

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They were advocates of liberty, and strong opponents of the tyrannical abuses under which the country was then suffering. A few like Colonel Lewis were uncompromising radicals, but his half-brother, Staats was an officer in the British army and had already attained the rank of major with every promise of becoming a general in the royal service, which he afterwards did.

Gouverneur perceived the necessity of action and the unmanliness of parleying. He accordingly urged the people to come together and before taking other measures to endeavor to effect, if possible, some reconciliation or plan of settlement between the Colonies and the Crown. This attitude represented that of the great majority; yet it gave umbrage to radicals like his brother Lewis on the one side and Tories like his brother Staats on the other. Elected to the New York Provincial Congress of 1775, though but twenty-three years of age, he was a member of its more important committees. One of these was appointed for the purpose of drafting a plan to be presented to the British government for the termination of the abuses which were the cause of the Colonial ill-will.

The young statesman was not over sanguine at the time. He realized that the great point at issue was taxation without representation, and that the only solution of the question was for the Colonies to have exclusive control of internal taxation. As late as this year, he seems to have had a fear that Colonial independence meant eventual mob rule, and in his writings singularly enough, he pointed out conditions which did come to pass between the securing of in-

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dependence and the adoption of the Constitution. The plan was drawn and submitted by him to the convention in a speech of notable eloquence. He looked even younger than he was, which made the effect of the address all the more profound. The learning, rhetoric, logic, and patriotism which ran through it were those of a strong man of middle age rather than of one who had hardly passed his majority. In this provincial body were many of the ablest men of the State, so that when they approved the report unanimously and ordered it to be forwarded to the Continental Congress they paid him the highest possible compliment.

As soon as the action of the British Ministry showed that the only alternative left open to the Colonies was war or submission, Morris unhesitatingly took up the gauntlet. When the Continental Congress in May, 1776, recommended to the Colonies the adoption of Constitutions and local governments, he was one of the leaders in the Third Provincial Congress of New York, who carried their request into action.

In this body were many Tories and also weak-kneed Colonials who needed the stimulation of a strong and earnest patriot. This was quickly found in the young Westchester lawyer. During the session of that body he spared none of the old feelings and traditions. He declared that independence was absolutely necessary, and with a quaint humor informed them one day that "I see no reason why Congress is not full as good a word as States-General,—or Parliament; and it is a mighty easy matter to please peo-

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ple when a single sound will effect it." To the plea, then very popular, that the people should have confidence in the Royal Commissioners, who had been sent over to patch up some sort of peace, he answered, "Will you trust the Commissioners? Trust the crocodiles! Trust the hungry wolf in your flock or a rattlesnake in your bosom, you may yet be something wise; but trust the King, his ministers, his commissioners, it is madness in the extreme." Though he knew the strong effect of one great speech, he did not rely upon it in this Congress. He realized that there were many delegates present, who required continual spurring and agitation. To convince and hold this element, he did everything in his power. One Tory described him as the "rebel marplot of the session," and "the tireless apostle of treason," but the Colonials hailed him as the champion of their rights.

Five days after the adoption of the Declaration of Independence the New York Provincial Congress declared its intention to support that instrument at all risks. In August, when the State Constitution was being framed, Morris labored titanically to introduce into it a special article prohibiting human slavery. In this he was supported by many conscientious men, but was defeated, the pro-slavery element being aided by those who did not believe in increasing the troubles of the Colonies at the time.

From the State Congress his people now sent him to the National capital, he being elected to the Continental Congress in 1777. His ability and energy were well known to the National leaders, who, on the day he presented his cre-

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dentials had him appointed on the committee of five which was to prepare plans for reorganizing the army. Morris spent the winter at Valley Forge, where he became the intimate friend of General Washington. In the busy life which now followed he was always in the forefront of activity and even leadership. When Lord North endeavored to reconcile the Colonies and to abandon the existing schemes of taxation it was the hand of Gouverneur Morris which wrote the manly report in which the United States declined to treat with any Royal Commissioners until the British armies and navies were withdrawn and American independence acknowledged. This was the most important legislative action during the Revolution.

In 1780, his constituents refused to return him to Congress. During the three years in which he had served the country, he had never left his post of duty for a day and had thereby incurred the animosity of the small-fry politicians at home, who thought that it was his duty to report from time to time and not to keep aloof from the people as if he were an aristocrat superior to them. Men of this kidney found enough jealousy and rivalry to secure a majority of votes against the great commoner.

He had nevertheless made himself indispensable to the Nation. The popularity he had lost in Westchester county had become a popularity tenfold greater at Philadelphia. In 1781, when Robert Morris was made National Financier, he selected Gouverneur as his assistant. The clear financial thinker had long before this recognized the singular power the younger man had in respect to the science of values.



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The selection was a master stroke. The two men worked together like one mind and it is often difficult to apportion the credit of the office while it was conducted by them. In the little closet which was the best accommodation they could obtain for their official duties was drafted the scheme for the Bank of North America. In 1782 Congress called for a report from Robert Morris upon the various coins circulating in the United States, and also upon an American system of coinage. The elder man was busy with the duties of his office and handed it over to the junior who wrote as requested a letter with an exposition of all the matters involved which is a landmark in financial history. A noteworthy feature in his famous letter was the plan for an American coinage.

During these years, like most of the clear intellects of the time, he had come to realize the inefficiency of the Confederacy and the necessity for a more completely organized government. In this respect he was in thorough accord with Hamilton, Robert Morris, Madison, Franklin, and the other framers of the Constitution. When Pennsylvania determined to send to the Constitutional Convention of 1787 its ablest delegation, it went out of its way to include in that immortal group one man who belonged to New York, Gouverneur Morris. This must have been a crushing blow to the little creatures in Westchester county who had accused him of aristocratic and monarchical leanings.

In the tremendous debate which accompanied the adoption of the instrument he took part, but his chief glory lay

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in his unsuccessful attempt to introduce an anti-slavery clause in the National Constitution, the same as he had done in the State Constitution, and next to this was the masterly manner in which he discharged the duty of arranging and revising the Charter of the Nation. Upon this point James Madison says, "The finish given to the style and arrangement of the Constitution fairly belongs to the pen of Mr. Morris. A better choice could not have been made, as the performance of the task proved. The talents and tastes of the author were stamped on the face of it."

The following year commercial enterprises called him to Europe. Here he devoted himself strenuously to business, in which he was very successful. Two years later Washington made him a special envoy to the Court of St. James, and while in London, attending to national duties, he was made United States Minister to France. This office he held until 1794, after which he devoted four years to travel and incidentally attended to such business as presented itself.

Wherever he went he seems to have left a deep and favorable impression. In France, and especially in Paris, he saw many of the bloody scenes of the Revolution, of which he has given brilliant and picturesque accounts in his diary. In the meantime the progress of the nation had brought about a revulsion of feeling in the Empire State in regard to the envoy. The very men who had decried him in the eighties were now his warmest panegyrists in the nineties. The people had begun to appreciate the extraordinary self-sacrifice and talent which had marked his work

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in the Continental Congress, the department of Finance, and the Constitutional Convention. He had scarcely more than returned from abroad when a vacancy occurred in the United States Senate, produced by the resignation of James Watson. To the surprise and pleasure of Morris the legislature promptly elected him to the position, in which he served from 1800 till 1803.

In the Senate he was the same commanding figure that he had been in the Congress. His efforts were inspired by high statesmanship, and his views would meet with the approval of the most enlightened thought at the present time. In regard to national taxation, he advocated indirect rather than direct forms, and was always an enthusiastic upholder of an independent and powerful judiciary. Jefferson's Louisiana purchase found in him a powerful supporter. It seems strange to-day to read in the proceedings of the 6th Congress, the arguments and appeals of those who favored what may be called "Little America." It sounds more like the prattle of children or the Cassandra-like wailings of old women than the sonorous voices of strong men. Yet so many were the former that at one time people were fearful that the nation would lose the opportunity of increasing its domain by the acquisition of half a continent.

On the close of his senatorial term he returned to private life and reopened his mercantile career. Though he refused office he kept thoroughly in touch with public events, and to the very end was a leader of the most advanced and statesmanlike sort. In the long agitation respecting the

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Erie Canal he was an outspoken promoter of that project, and when it was finally taken up by New York State, he was made chairman of the Canal Commission, which office he held until his death.

Personally the man was of marked geniality, generosity and affection. His rule in life was apparently to remember all friends and to forget all foes. Both at home and abroad he was noted for his hospitality, while of his private benefactions the little we know is to the effect that they were many and wisely directed. When his old friend Robert Morris fell into bankruptcy he did all within his power to make the Financier happy, and was the latter's chief source of support from the time he left the debtor's prison until he died.

In 1780 Morris was injured in a runaway and had to have a leg amputated. An injudicious friend called to offer sympathy and argued fervently that a cripple could not suffer from the temptations toward dissipation and debauchery. Morris listened with smiling countenance and replied,

"My dear Sir. You argue the matter so handsomely, and point out so clearly the advantages of being without a leg, that I am almost tempted to part with the other."

He loved literature, and in leisure moments wrote in both gay and grave vein. His playfulness is well illustrated by numerous political and social satires in prose and verse; while his deeper thought is revealed by his political addresses and his orations on Washington, Hamilton and

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George Clinton. The latter may be regarded as parts of standard if not classical American literature. No man was more buoyant and optimistic. At the beginning of the Revolution he faced the unknown dangers and disasters of war with a light heart and a laughing face, and in his old age the sunniness of his character is well revealed in the following letter to John Parish, an oldtime friend:

\* \* \* "I lead a quiet and more than most of my fellow mortals a happy life. The woman to whom I am married has much genius, has been well educated and possesses, with an affectionate temper, industry and a love of order. That I did not marry earlier is not to be attributed to my dislike for that connection. On the contrary it has been my fixed creed that as love is the only fountain of felicity, so it is in wedded love that the waters are most pure. To solve the problem of my fate it was required to discover a woman, who with the qualities needful for my happiness, should have also the sentiments. In a word the postulate was, that fine woman who could love an old man. Our little boy is generally admired. The sentiments of a father respecting an only child render his opinions so liable to suspicion that prudence should withhold them even from a friend. I will only say, therefore, that some who would have been more content had he never seen the light acknowledge him to be beautiful and promising.

\* \* \* "At sixty-four there is little to desire and less to apprehend. Let me add that however grave the

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form and substance of this letter, the lapse of so many years has not impaired the gayety of your friend. Could you gratify him with your company and conversation you would find in him still the gayety of inexperience and the frolic of youth."

In the struggle between two mighty animals we see the play of angry limb and iron muscle, but not the throbbing heart or the scheming brain within. In the conflict of nations our gaze is apt to be riveted upon the generals and admirals and not upon those who stand behind and conduct the movements of government. Each is equally important in the economy of national life. Without Washington their military leader, Franklin, Hancock and Adams would have been impotent, and without the trio the great General would have been left helpless in the first dark years of the Revolution. Along with the three men named must be included Gouverneur Morris, who in patriotism, energy and ability was certainly their equal. Looked at from to-day he presents the living example of a healthy mind in a healthy body. He was strong physically and intellectually. Among the lesser men of his period in America and Europe, he seems like a good natured titan. He had matchless talent rather than special genius. Whatever he did he did well. In scholarship he was an honor-man among students. With lawyers, he was a leader of the bar. In legislative bodies he was a champion of the arena. In the discharge of governmental duties, he was a tireless and sagacious executive. As a diplomat, he never permitted personality to color his representative capacity. As a merchant and financier, he

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rose superior to competitors and became their acknowledged head. As a man he displayed in their fullest phase the qualities which render life beautiful and enjoyable. To the builders of the Republic, he adds a symmetric personality in which posterity can rejoice.

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## XXIII

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### RICHARD HENRY LEE

*Born, January 20, 1732; Died, June 19, 1794.*

**W**HAT the Adams family was to the Puritans, the Schuyler to the Knickerbockers, and the Livingston to the Scotch, that was the Lee family to the Cavaliers of the South. In point of pedigree, no family in the broad Union can compare with that of the race which produced Richard Henry, the statesman, Francis Lightfoot, the patriot, "Light Horse" Harry, the cavalry leader and Robert Edward, the sublime genius of the Confederacy.

Far back in the Mother country their record runs, illuminating English history with deeds of daring and knightly emprise. In the Norman conquest of England, Sir Lancelot Lee, a mighty champion, was one of the fierce knights under William of Normandy, who crushed the heroic followers of the Saxon Harold. Sons and grandsons upheld the honor of the race, and in the fourth generation Sir Lionel Lee fairly impoverished himself to raise a noble retinue and accompany his Lord Richard the lion-hearted upon the Third Crusade to the Holy Land. At the siege of Saint Jean d'Acre his plume was always in the front rank, and he ever where danger was the thickest. Tradition speaks of five hundred Moslems falling beneath his sword and battleaxe, and the dim record of his years refers to him as "the most audacious knight of all the world." At any rate he was made Earl of Lichfield. The armor which



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he wore in this Crusade, dented by scimitar and jereed, still holds a place of honor in the Tower of London. At its feet in May, 1902, an American traveller laid a wreath of flowers, to which was attached a card, "From one who followed the banners of his descendant, the untitled earl of Virginia."

Richard, the tenth earl of Lichfield, was a commander of the division of the army of Henry VIII, which invaded Scotland in 1542, and the faded banner which was worked by his wife and daughters hangs from the wall in St. George's Chapel, Windsor.

The founder in this country was Richard, who was born in Shropshire in 1590, and was a person of distinction in the early part of the seventeenth century. In his youth he went to London, and through family influence became attached to the court of Charles I. He won the favor of that ill-destined monarch and rose to be a member of the Royal Privy Council. Stories of the wealth of the New World and of adventures with beast and savage aroused him and induced him to apply to his master for an office in the new settlement beyond the sea. The king accordingly made him secretary of the Colony of Virginia. The adventurous courtier gathered a number of retainers and sailed for the Rappahannocks. He settled in Northumberland county, and until his death was a busy member of the community. His duties to the Governor, Sir William Berkeley, were light and profitable, and his leisure time was devoted to improving the virgin lands of his estate. The ambition of the young man was boundless. When he had cleared

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enough land to provide large farms for his tenants, he went back to England, secured more followers and returning with them to Northumberland county, again opened new farmlands in the wilderness. This, he repeated at least five times, and made himself a landed proprietor, whose domain was of magnificent proportions. Brave and loyal to the last degree, both he and Berkeley threw down the gage to Parliament when the news of the execution of Charles reached Virginia. This was followed up by an invitation to the fugitive royalists to leave England and accept the hospitality of the Colony. The latter was acquiesced in by many exiles, of whom several hundred crossed the sea in 1649-1650 to Northumberland county, where they were received with great generosity and affection by Lee and Berkeley.

In 1650 they invited Charles II, then a fugitive, to come over and be the ruler of the Western Commonwealth. This was too much for the Parliamentarians, who two years afterwards sent a strong expedition across the sea, removed Berkeley and established a provisional government. Fortunately for the little community the other planters were not as warlike and reckless as Lee. They accepted the situation without further ado. Lee chafed and fumed, but found that he could not raise an army large enough to meet the "traitors" upon terms that would justify an encounter. He went so far as to sail to Europe and visit Charles II, who was then in the Netherlands, offering him a home and an army if the fugitive monarch would return with him to Virginia. On Cromwell's death Berkeley and

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Lee issued a proclamation of allegiance to their Lord the Stuart, calling him the "King of England, France, Scotland, Ireland and Virginia." After Charles II had ascended the throne, he recognized the loyalty of Virginia by giving it authority to quarter its arms with those of England, France, Scotland and Ireland, and the motto, "En Dat Virginia Quintam." ("Behold Virginia Makes the Fifth.")

Richard the son of the founder was a famous scholar of Oxford university and a master of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French and Italian. His son Thomas returned to the type of his grandfather. For many years he was president of the Colonial Council, and toward the close of his career was royal governor of Virginia, being the first native-born American who held that office from the Crown. From this strong man came the prophetic statement about 1730, "I have no doubt that this country will in time declare itself independent of Great Britain and that the seat of its government will be near the little falls of the Potomac River."

In Richard Henry, the third son of Thomas, the best qualities of the long line of descent were brought together. His primary education was derived at home from his parents and a tutor. When a boy he was sent abroad to England by his father and educated at Wakefield academy in Yorkshire. At the age of twenty, he returned and applied himself to the study of law. He brought with him a superb library from London, one of the best, if not the best then in the Old Dominion. Possessing marked quickness of mind, strong logical power and an iron memory, he made

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rapid progress in the profession. The curriculum he pursued was of his own design and may be compared with that which is laid down by Harvard and Columbia at the present time. It included Roman, Canon, and international as well as common law, equity and practice. His tastes were literary as well as legal, and in his general reading, history, philosophy and belles lettres received large consideration.

At the age of twenty-five he was made Justice of the Peace and four years later (1761) a Member of the House of Burgesses. In this legislative body he remained for twenty-seven years. At the outset he was exceedingly diffident and nervous, finding it difficult to speak consecutively, whenever he arose to address the chair. This was not due to any deficiency in character but to the bookish habits which had marked his life from boyhood up to that time. By degrees he overcame this bashfulness and developed into a finished and scholarly speaker, one whose eloquence was second only to that of Patrick Henry in the House of Burgesses.

Though the man belonged to a wealthy slave-holding family, and owed his luxurious bringing-up and surroundings to the proceeds of slave-labor, he was opposed to the system, and early in his political life offered a bill in the House, "To lay so heavy a duty on the importation of slaves as effectually to put an end to that iniquitous and disgraceful traffic within the Colony of Virginia."

The speech with which he supported the motion was a masterly effort from every point of view. It reviewed the

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history of slavery in the different countries and sketched with daring hand the evils direct and indirect, which the system brought about. It included a careful analysis of the rights of a human being to life and liberty and the duties owed by the stronger to the weaker. It pointed out the inevitable conflict between slave and free labor and the degradation of the latter through the influence of the former. In short it was in eighteenth century form, almost the same oration as those delivered by Wendell Phillips and Henry Ward Beecher in the nineteenth.

When the Stamp Act was proposed, he was one of the leaders of the opposition to that measure, and after its enactment he organized the citizens of Westmoreland county into a league whose object was the deterrence of all people from selling or using the stamped paper. At this time Lee was the Captain of a Company of Light Horse, all of whom were enthusiastic members of the league. Whenever a collector appeared upon the scene he summoned his men, galloped to the residence of the official, and by persuasion or force secured the Collector's commission and all the stamped paper on the premises, which were duly consigned to the flames. He was one of the first to perceive that this and other grievances were an entering wedge by which all the liberties of the Colonies might be overthrown, and as early as 1768 he wrote to John Dickinson of Pennsylvania and Christopher Gadsden of South Carolina recommending the appointment of committees for mutual information and correspondence between the lovers of liberty in every province.

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This was the idea, it seems, which occurred about the same time to Samuel Adams in Massachusetts, the difference being that Lee after making the suggestion took no action, while Adams carried his thought into a system which was to change the conditions of Colonial life. From the fact that Lee wrote about it to at least two men with whom his acquaintanceship was political rather than social, is presumptive evidence that he discussed the matter with the large circle of social friends with whom he was on warm terms of affection in the Dominion. When therefore in 1772, Adams opened up correspondence with the other Colonies he found a quick and earnest response from Virginia.

In 1773, when the Old Dominion on the motion of Dabney Carr authorized an inter-colonial committee of correspondence Lee was made a member of that body. The appointment must have pleased him as he now saw the realization of the schemes he had formulated four years before, and in addition to this he was brought into contact and acquaintanceship with the ablest men of the other twelve provinces. His wealth enabled him to employ secretaries and to make a political duty a systematic business. Soon he was carrying on an interesting and influential correspondence with the leading communities in his own colony and with the central committees of the other twelve.

In this year, he wrote his first letter to Samuel Adams, which was promptly answered in the latter's most fascinating way. The two notes were the beginning of a life-long intimacy between the Cavalier and the Puritan.

It is to be regretted that but little of this committee cor-

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respondence has been preserved. It was more than the mere transmission of news, although this was the basis of the work. To the description of events and measures Lee added his own thoughts upon every question of the hour and enriched these by an imagination, and a knowledge of the noblest type. Realizing that everything he wrote would be read by others, whom it would encourage or discourage according to its tone, he made his letters arguments strong, vital and absorbent. There can be no doubt that they strengthened the weak and even converted many who theretofore had been believers in *laissez-faire*, or had a conscientious belief in the Divine and unlimited right of kings.

Prior to this period it does not appear that Lee contemplated, much less advocated, an armed separation betwixt Colony and Crown. Like most of the great landowners of Virginia, he believed or hoped that the grievances were ephemeral and would, especially if the Colonies made a united protest, be redressed by the British government.

But there was no time-serving in his composition. While he recognized the legal right and power of Parliament, he never for a second allowed himself to sanction the use of that power in an unrighteous manner. To him, justice was above all things, and beneath this came royal and legal rights. This will explain why it was that at first he and Patrick Henry clashed swords in the arena of the Burgesses and thereafter fought shoulder to shoulder.

Lee, unlike Henry, was a master of historical knowledge. He knew that in the annals of every land, there had been

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periods of tyranny and wrongful exaction followed by others of good government and justice. He himself belonged to a race which had fought and suffered during one of these crises, and from his own personal acquaintanceship with England, he knew that the latter country was in the main inspired by sentiments of fair play and freedom.

These in every probability were the reasons, why he hoped for a peaceful solution of the questions of the time. In August the following year, he was made a delegate to the First Continental Congress then about to meet in Philadelphia. Here he was appointed upon three of the most important committees and performed his work in a manner worthy of the momentousness of the occasion. He won admiration from his colleagues by the ease with which he acquitted himself along every line of labor. In the committee room, he organized work with rapidity and on the floor was fluent, clear and concise. An able parliamentarian, he used the machinery of the law to facilitate the transaction of business. In everything he was a model of courtesy and well supported the dignity of the Commonwealth, which he represented.

It required courage to take part in the proceedings of that Congress, and to express opinion conscientiously and freely. Over the body hung the cloud of royal anger, and even in the Congress itself were men openly or secretly affiliated with the British Ministry. Only a few, such as Patrick Henry, had declared openly for independence, while the majority present imagined that there was still hope of justice being done by the mother country. On the first



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day of the session everyone was determined, but no one seemed ready to take the first step. After the prayer, and when the chairman had asked the pleasure of the meeting, there was a long pause which spoke volumes for the solemnity of the occasion. The silence was broken by the fiery eloquence of Patrick Henry, stirring all hearts and thawing every tongue. As his eloquence died away, there was a slight reaction as is always the case after an intellectual stimulation more than normal. Again there was a pause and this time Lee addressed the Congress. His speech was not so brilliant as that of his famous colleague, but it probably was more effective. Henry's eloquence had been that of the poet and enthusiast, Lee's was that of the thoughtful and matured man. Henry carried his auditors away: Lee convinced those who heard him. When Lee closed there was not the applause which had greeted Henry but there was a deep murmur of approbation and acquiescence.

The two speeches were representative; each typified a powerful tendency in the young body politic. Henry was spokesman for the impetuosity, the chivalry and the passion of the American people; Lee for its sound sense, its love of justice, and its determination to do right no matter what the consequences.

In October of that year Lee drew the draft of the Memorial to the People of British America in conformity to the instructions he had received from Congress. It was an able document in every way, and it passed with the other addresses of the Congress, the Declaration of Independence,

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and the orations of Henry, Otis, Adams, and other Revolutionary leaders, into the historical literature of the Republic.

In the second Congress, he was a larger figure than in the first. The people of the provinces had come to appreciate him, and he himself had undergone considerable change. He was moving forward and had already dropped many of the conservative feelings and ideas which had swayed him the year before. He was on the committee which drew the Address to the People of Great Britain, a document of singular clearness, sincerity and eloquence. In the summer of that year he was chosen lieutenant of Westmoreland County, an ancient office analogous to the Lord Lieutenancy of an English shire. By virtue of the position he was commander of the county militia, and was *de jure* a colonel of that service. He undoubtedly accepted the office for political reasons connected with but ulterior to its military jurisdiction. Realizing that war was inevitable he determined to take part in shaping the action of the State and in bringing its military powers to their highest development. Although he was no soldier, he knew that he could facilitate matters when in control and by accepting the position prevent the possibility of a Tory or an incompetent obtaining the appointment.

At the Continental Congress in 1776 he was one of the radical leaders. On June 7th he made the memorable motion, "That these United Colonies are and of right ought to be free and independent States, and that all political

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connection between them and the State of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved."

This, the first form of the Declaration of Independence, was made by Lee of Virginia, and seconded by John Adams of Massachusetts. Lee and Adams had rightfully gauged the temper of Congress. The House appointed a committee of five to draft a formal Declaration of Independence, choosing with great wisdom, Jefferson of Virginia, John Adams of Massachusetts, Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania, Roger Sherman of Connecticut and Robert R. Livingston of New York.

The news of Lee's motion ran like wildfire through the Colonies, and ere long the local constituencies had sent word to their delegates how to vote upon the matter. On the second day of July Lee's resolution was formally passed by Congress and two days later the Declaration of Independence became history. The reason of the omission of Lee from the Committee of Five was his absence from Philadelphia, he having been called home by news of the severe illness of his wife. In his absence Congress put Thomas Jefferson, his colleague and friend in his place. The same courtesy was followed in the treatment of the Declaration before the House. Jefferson regarding himself as a *locum tenens* for Lee in the writing of the Declaration, but not in the argument, yielded the floor to John Adams, who had seconded the original motion, and who thereupon made his great speech in favor of the Declaration. These intricacies of parliamentary law but illustrate the laudable urbanity

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which marked the proceedings of the Colonial representatives under such exciting surroundings.

From 1776 to 1780 Lee was a tireless laborer, both on the floor and in the committee room. He began his work after breakfast in the morning and upon closing his labor in the session and the committee room, he kept on at home until the early hours of the morning. On one occasion he is said to have worked twenty hours a day for a fortnight. No man can long stand such work without paying a penalty. Lee broke down not once but at least six times, and was compelled to retire to his home in Virginia and there recruit his strength.

In 1780 two questions arose in Virginia involving right and principle so organically that Lee instead of taking a seat in Congress devoted himself to the interests of the Old Dominion. During his absence at the capital a movement had grown up at home in favor of an unlimited paper currency and also of repudiating all debts, public and private owed to British subjects. The party favoring these issues was led by clever demagogues and at one time seemed on the point of carrying the State. Lee plunged into the thickest of the struggle and fought inflation and repudiation with heroic vigor. He spoke and wrote, organized and used every influence he possessed to aid the cause he had espoused. In a noble speech upon repudiation, he asserted "It is better to be the honest slaves of Great Britain than to become dishonest freemen." In this struggle, the laurels were awarded to righteousness.

Upon the restoration of peace, he devoted himself to the

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financial difficulties which then troubled State and Nation alike. His course of action during his long career was practically that of an educational campaign. The citizens whom he opposed were well meaning but ignorant. He aimed at being their teacher and friend and usually succeeded. 1784 witnessed his election to the presidency of the Continental Congress, he occupying the chair one year. Of the fourteen presidents of that body, he and Jay were the ablest.

In 1787, he opposed the Federal Constitution, and for a brief time was a leader of the Anti-Federalists along with Patrick Henry and other contemporary leaders. This attitude was due to his fear of tyranny and of the process of political centralization. To his mind the Federal Constitution would create a government so strong that year by year it would encroach first upon the States and then upon the individuals. The only method he thought of avoiding this downward growth was a continuation of the existing system in spite of the numberless ills from which it then suffered. While these were painful and injurious yet they were as nothing compared with the loss of liberty which the Federal Constitution he thought entailed. The Anti-Federalists carried his State at the following election, and when it came to sending representatives to the new Federal government Lee and William Crayson were selected as Senators. He served but three years of his time, his health already weakened by his exertions during the Revolution, failing him in 1792 and necessitating his resignation.

During his service in the Senate, he was an active worker,

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and took a lively interest in all matters pertaining to constitutional and general law. His fear of centralization, he expressed in the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution, which he drew, and which explicitly reserves to the States and the People the powers not granted to the Federal government. Before he had been in office a year, he modified his attitude in some respects by accepting many of the doctrines which were the logical outcome of the Constitution. Besides this change he conceived a warm admiration for the President, who was a political opponent, and became one of Washington's staunchest supporters. Could he have lived longer there is no doubt but that he would have been a leader in the Republican party. He survived two years after retiring from office, his constitution having been undermined by the terrible intensity and energy of his career during forty years.

Richard Henry Lee was the typical representative of the South. Like many of his famous contemporaries he had wealth, lineage and social position. Unlike them he had had the advantages of travel and education abroad. No man had higher legal and political ideals and none fought more strenuously to carry them into effect. From young manhood until death, he never rested. Life was to him a battle which depended largely upon his efforts. The few mistakes he made were errors of judgment and never of principle. He fought against tyrannical laws and then against the tyrant who had made those laws possible. He fought against foolish theories of finance and public policy. He fought against the ills of life wherever they appeared.

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His nature was as militant as that of his ancestors in England in the dead centuries. They fought with lance, sword and battle-axe but he with the subtler weapons of the tongue and pen. In the eighteenth century Virginia was honored by a galaxy of men who will never be forgotten by the Republic. Among them by the side of Washington, Jefferson, Henry and Madison, Richard Henry Lee will stand until the end of time.

## ANTHONY WAYNE

*Born, January 1, 1745; Died, December 15, 1796.*

**W**HAT Bertrand du Guesclin was to King Charles V, Murat to Napoleon Bonaparte, and Sheridan to General Grant, that was Anthony Wayne of Pennsylvania, to General George Washington and the new born Republic. The reckless brilliancy of his achievements, the sunshine and energy of his soul have already woven around him the tissues of romance and legend, until he seems more like some Paladin of the poet than a stern and serious soldier in the ranks of the Continental army.

The odd names which were conferred upon him in appreciation of his fiery courage and matchless skill, by friend and foe, have done much to increase the picturesque perspective of his career. The extraordinary risks which he took in warfare gave him the title of "Mad Anthony." The fastidiousness he manifested in regard to his clothing which he carried to so great an extent as often to make a complete toilet before going into battle, earned him the soubriquet of "Dandy Wayne." The Indians, who appreciated him as much as Continentals or British, styled him "Black Snake," "Rattlesnake," "Wind" and "Whirlwind," to express the fierce energy with which he fought, killed and destroyed. To the Hessians, he was "Feuer-



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Teufel " (or Fire Devil), while the French armies of America styled him " Le Prince des Beaux Sabreurs." The man was a wonder, and the marvel of it all was that such a phenomenal soldier should have evolved out of a laughing, studious and refined land-surveyor, with a singular genius for higher mathematics.

Heredity throws some light upon this singular combination of qualities. His lineage was English for centuries. It came from the Franklin class of Yorkshire, where for many generations it had supplied stalwart supporters of the British banners at home and abroad. His grandfather moved from England to Ireland and settled in County Wicklow about 1680. He was not, as has been often erroneously stated, a Scotch-Irishman, nor was he one of the body of men which moved along with the Scotch-Irish from Scotland and England to the North of Ireland in the seventeenth century. What led him to move to the Emerald Isle is unknown. In the conflict which arose in the next decade, he espoused the cause of William of Orange against James, and commanded a squadron of dragoons at the Battle of the Boyne. In both this engagement and others of that war he displayed almost ferocious bravery and military talent. He thought nothing of galloping twenty or thirty miles to cut off a detachment of Jacobins, and frequently attacked larger bodies of men where prudence should have dictated defensive tactics or a retreat. He seems to have loved the excitement of warfare rather than its fame or pecuniary rewards. When the cause of the

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Stuarts was lost, and peace reigned throughout the British kingdom, he retired to his estate, where he apparently sighed for a more active existence.

In 1722 he sold his land for a handsome figure and joined the migrating army to the Western world. He came to Pennsylvania, and two years afterwards bought a tract of sixteen hundred acres in Chester county, in the beautiful valley which he named Waynesborough.

His sons were well-to-do and energetic farmers, who held many important positions in that part of the Keystone State. Isaac, the father of Anthony, was typical of the generation. He had a farm of five hundred acres, was a member of the Provincial Assembly from Chester county, an officer of the militia and a heroic captain in the Indian war. Both he and his wife, Elizabeth Iddings, possessed strong characters and high mentality.

Their family was small, consisting of Anthony the son and two daughters. Upon all three, but more especially the son, they devoted their best thought and labor. Their intention was to make the boy a great scholar, for which he had many qualifications, but Nature had cut him out for a different career, and built in the cells of his being the soul and body of a great soldier. Study and mental improvement were the orders of each day in the Wayne household, and the boy, with the tendency toward discipline which marks the born commander, obeyed orders. He studied hard and made progress, but the progress was along martial lines. In his training, his teachers were his father and mother, the village schoolmaster, and his Uncle Gilbert,

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who was a noted scholar of the time. The boy did creditable work in all of his tasks. He displayed little or no taste for the ancient languages, some liking for the modern languages, a love for history, and especially the annals of wars, armies, navies and courts, and more than ordinary talent in mathematics.

The love of arms cropped out early in boyhood. Gilbert Wayne perceived the bent of his juvenile character and wrote about it to Isaac in these words:

“What he may be best qualified for I know not. He may perhaps make a soldier. He has already distracted the brains of two-thirds of the boys under my charge by rehearsals of battles, sieges, etc. During noon in place of the usual games and amusements he has the boys employed in throwing up redoubts, skirmishing, etc.”

Other accounts corroborate the uncle's diagnosis. From the first he possessed the qualities of leadership, and was the head of the boys and girls of his home. In winter, his juvenile forces built snow forts, divided themselves into armies, and waged ruthless war upon each other after school hours on school days, and all day long on Saturdays and holidays. In summer, he organized Indian feuds, and one day would be a savage sachem pursued by a hostile tribe, on the next chief of the pursuers, and on the third the “Captain of the Avengers.” He picked up the manual of arms and drilled his little colleagues until they made a presentable appearance on parade. The hard work of mock

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war was as agreeable to him as its picturesque display, and time and again he and his play-soldiers constructed earth works, built flimsy bridges across streams, and on one occasion made a pontoon bridge by impressing several scows into their service. The nailing of planks into the scows aroused the wrath of the owners of the latter, and resulted in the victorious general receiving a humiliating spanking.

At sixteen, Anthony was a sturdy, good-natured athlete, who stood at the head of the school in mathematics and at the foot in classics. His parents feeling that a change in his environment might affect his tastes, sent him to the Philadelphia Academy, then one of the best schools in Pennsylvania. The young student bore out the truth of the lines "we change our skies, but not ourselves." At the new institution, his career was like that in his uncle's school. He was the best mathematician and surveyor and the most inferior classicist. He does not seem to have been graduated from the Academy, as his name is not found in the roll of the alumni.

Becoming a surveyor, he soon built up a good business, and won the notice and then the confidence of real estate operators of that period. Despite his youth, he was a master of his calling, and possessed a physique which enabled him to stand the roughest work and to assert himself whenever necessary against belligerent and ignorant laborers.

When but twenty, he was hired by a syndicate, headed by Benjamin Franklin, to survey and colonize two tracts of wilderness in Nova Scotia, which had been purchased as a

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land investment. Here he toiled until 1767, when he was recalled by his employers. The political agitation which had arisen between the Colonies and the Mother Country had disturbed the business world and lessened immigration. The leaders of the syndicate felt that under the circumstances it would be impracticable if not impossible to colonize their territory in Nova Scotia so as to make it a profitable undertaking, and that the best course for them to pursue was to suspend all operations until there was a better understanding between Great Britain and her American provinces.

His experience in the wilderness had been of incalculable benefit to the young surveyor. He had found the secret of roughing it, mastered woodcraft, and learned the numberless difficulties which confront the settler of virgin soil. His muscles, already strong, had been trained to their utmost, and his handling of employees had taught him the secret of managing men of various types. Returning to Waynesborough he settled down to farming to which he applied the best methods then known with remunerative results. He built a tannery, cut roads into the forest by which he brought bark to the pits, and at the same time continued his profession of surveyor.

His daily life made him well acquainted over a vast extent of country and the acquaintanceship deepened into affection on account of his courtesy and good fellowship. The people elected him to many local offices, and as early as 1774, he had become the foremost character in Chester. In this year political agitation was very strong, and young

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Wayne, with a clear vision of impending bloodshed, began the organization not of a little company but of a large regiment. Into the task of enlisting he threw himself with ardor. There was a strong peace-sentiment in that part of Pennsylvania, due to the influence of wealth and of the Quaker denomination, as well as to the fact that the effect of the tyrannical laws against which the Colonies were protesting had scarcely been perceived in the agricultural districts of the interior.

Wayne was well fitted to overcome the sentiment. Against the plea of the rich man, who wished to preserve his treasures, he could point to his own wealth and that of his family. To the young and ambitious he spoke of the glory and excitement of war. To the patriot he advocated armed resistance to despotism, and to the despairing who thought that the colonies had no military ability, he himself was the best example possible of the citizen-soldier.

When the British Ministry closed the port of Boston, the Pennsylvania Assembly took prompt action in asking for a redress of grievances, and the first Continental Congress pursued the same line of policy. Every community in the Keystone State followed the example thus set and nowhere was it more rapidly done than in Chester county. The representatives of this district found in Wayne their natural leader. They made him chairman of the county committee, which drew the resolutions condemning the course of the British Ministry and head of a second committee appointed to promote military organization and to enforce the non-importation agreement.

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At the convention called to encourage domestic manufactures in May, 1775, he showed his attitude by proposing a military organization of all the freemen of the county. As the months rolled by his sphere of activity increased. Each committee to which he belonged seemed an egg out of which other committees sprang, and in all he was foremost. The end of 1775 saw him the political leader of his county, and the 3rd of January, 1776, Colonel of the Chester Regiment then filled and ready for action. To secure this double leadership, he had assumed many risks and made many sacrifices. He had given nearly all his time and thought to the task, and had drawn freely upon his private estate. Of the Pennsylvania leaders he was probably the wealthiest, and to him confiscation and execution for treason meant far more than to those who had little or nothing to lose in the great game of revolution.

This very disinterestedness endeared him all the more to his people and gave him a personal power and following denied to others. There were revolutionary leaders who were accused of taking up arms from selfish motives, for reasons of vengeance, disappointment and envy, or for the gratification of vanity and false ambition. No charge nor suspicion of this sort was ever brought against Wayne. From the beginning of the Revolution until the end of his brilliant and martial life, he was looked up to and fairly worshipped as an ideal patriot.

It may be noticed at this point, that as late as January, 1776, Wayne was inspired by the love of justice and right, and not by the desire for independence. His view of the

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situation was simple and soldierlike. He regarded himself as a free British subject, entitled to the same rights and privileges in Pennsylvania as in Yorkshire and London. The various enactments of the British Ministry were mere attempts on the part of a vicious group of men, but not of Great Britain, to deprive certain British subjects of their constitutional rights. He took up arms to have the grievances redressed, feeling convinced that a strong display of force on the part of the Colonies would cause the Ministry to perceive the folly of its ways and to grant the same justice to Englishmen abroad as at home.

From the time he organized his regiment, the man proved himself a born soldier, a strict disciplinarian and a thorough student. Under what seemed mad recklessness were consummate knowledge and design. The very actions whose apparent impossibility gave him the nickname of "Mad Anthony" were those which proved the most brilliant victories in the Revolution. It was not until the political generals, such as Gates, Charles Lee and others, had proved their incompetency that the Colonies recognized the genius of the great Pennsylvanian. Fortunately for the young Republic his talents were appreciated at a very early date by Washington, Hamilton, Knox and Schuyler.

Wayne's theories on war, though in the main admirable, were marked by whimsical details. Perfect discipline, absolute obedience and thorough training in every duty were his canons as they have been those of every great leader. What made him regarded as eccentric by the officers of that period was his rigid rule that his men should be always



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neat, clean, well-dressed and well-shaved. Each company had its barber, whose duty was to shave the soldiers and dress their hair. Swift punishment was meted out to any man who appeared on parade with a long beard, shaggy hair or grease spots on his uniform. He wrote to Washington:

“I have an insuperable bias in favor of an elegant uniform and soldierly appearance, so much so that I would rather risk my life and reputation at the head of the same men in an attack clothed and appointed as I wish merely with bayonets and a single charge of ammunition than to take them as they appear in common with sixty rounds of cartridges.”

There was wisdom below this eccentricity. Under this iron discipline his men became the most trustworthy soldiers in the Colonial army. The care wasted upon their bodies and clothing was not lost. It kept the men in health and strength, so that his command suffered less from disease than any other in the Continental forces.

From June, 1776, to December, 1782, Wayne flashed like a meteor through the Revolution. The story of his exploits is a romance like that of the Black Prince. He was wounded time and again, but seemed to regard wounds as unworthy of notice. Never beaten except by greatly superior numbers, he conducted every retreat with almost mechanical precision and success. Before a year had passed by, the British generals found that defeating Wayne meant

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nothing. If beaten back in the morning his men were never panic-stricken; but were liable to renew the battle more fiercely than ever in the afternoon. If then repulsed they were apt to come back at nightfall. Ere long, whenever there was a forlorn hope to lead, a retreat to be guarded, or a false attack to be made, the command was given to Wayne, if he were within a day's distance.

He led the right wing at Germantown, which drove the British back two miles. At Valley Forge, when the American troops were starving, he made a successful raid into the British lines just after they had received a large amount of supplies, and captured enough to provide the Continentals for several weeks. About this time the phrase became current, "Where Wayne goes, there is always a fight." At Monmouth, Wayne saw victory and attacked the British with indescribable fury. General Charles Lee (no member of the Virginia Lee family) became panic-stricken and ordered Wayne back. The latter obeyed orders, although he knew that it meant defeat. Fortunately for the country, Washington opportunely arriving, took command and again Wayne went forward and snatched triumph from the jaws of death. It was here that brave Monckton of the British army, perceiving that Wayne must be driven back or the British be routed, led his troops in a magnificent bayonet charge against the Americans. The heroism was sublime, but Monckton and his men were no match for "Mad Anthony" and his followers. Monckton and nearly every officer under him were killed and the British army driven back in disaster.

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In 1779 occurred his wonderful feat of capturing Stony Point. This was a fort built upon a rocky promontory on the west bank of the Hudson, a hundred and fifty feet high. Three sides were surrounded by water and the fourth was protected by a swamp impassable at high tide. There were three redoubts and a double abatis of heavy logs, which made two walls across the peninsula. The post was armed with cannon and garrisoned by six hundred veteran soldiers under the command of Colonel Johnston. The expedition which went out under Wayne consisted of four battalions, which with two extra companies detailed for the advance, numbered the same as the enemy. Washington sketched out a plan of attack in conjunction with Wayne, and concluded by telling the latter that he had "full liberty to vary the plan of attack as the circumstances of the hour may require."

So skilfully had the commander done his work that Wayne made but one change in the programme, which Washington with habitual generosity styled an improvement upon his own plan in his official report. At eleven o'clock on the night of the 15th of July, while waiting to begin the attack, Wayne wrote a letter to a dear friend in which he expressed the prospect which lay before him. The letter opens

"DEAR DELANY:

"This will not meet your eye until the writer is no more."

In the darkness, at half after eleven, the advance began,

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Wayne leading the right column in person and wading through water two feet deep. The Continentals crossed the peninsula, attacked the abatis, and quickly made a way through the timbers. Of twenty men in one squad, seventeen were killed and wounded at this stage. Now a shot from the British struck Wayne, cutting out a piece of the scalp and rendering him half senseless. He quickly came to, raised himself and shouted, "Forward, My Brave Fellows, Forward!" He begged his aides-de-camp to carry him into the fort, where he wished to die if his wound were mortal. The news that he had been wounded, perhaps killed, infuriated his command, which rushed madly forward, climbed the rocks and bore everything before them. So well were the plans executed, that with Wayne now recovered at their head, the two columns of assault and the Forlorn Hope, as the details were named who had attacked the abatis, entered the fort at the same time. The English had sixty-three killed and the Americans fifteen. The victory amazed the country. The American generals, including Washington, Schuyler, St. Clair, Green, Gates, Reed, Steuben, La Fayette and others, sent personal notes to the victor congratulating him upon his extraordinary success. Congress made tardy recognition of his services by brevetting him Major-General in 1783.

Upon his return to civil life at the end of the war the people of Chester elected him to the general assembly, and afterwards to the State Convention. The State of Georgia honored him by presenting a tract of land of eight hundred and forty acres for his services in the Revolution,

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when he had rid the State of a British army of occupation and thereafter elected him to the Georgia State Constitutional Convention in 1787, and to Congress in 1791. In 1792, on the recommendation of Washington, he was made General-in-Chief of the army of the United States, with the rank of Major-General. There were troubles with the Indians of the Northwest, who threatened war, and Wayne began preparing the little army of the Republic for a campaign. The war lasted from 1793 until 1795, when a Treaty of Peace was signed and a vast tract of valuable land ceded by the Redmen to the Federal government.

The conflict over, he returned to Pennsylvania, and was shortly afterwards appointed Plenary Commissioner to receive the British posts at Niagara and other points, and to negotiate for further treaties with the Indians. While sailing from Detroit for Presqu' Isle (now the city of Erie) he was stricken with gout, and died in the following month.

If Anthony Wayne had possessed a little diplomacy, he could have obtained any position within the gift of the people, but his make-up was that of the soldier and the patriot exclusively. He had a marvelously accurate judgment, but did not possess the power of silence. For this reason he made many enemies by giving expression to his opinions of men enjoying temporary popularity. Early in the war he denounced Benedict Arnold, and later he attacked General Charles Lee. From time to time he let all about him know his views respecting the incompetents and incapables in Congress and elsewhere. This was undoubtedly the cause why his services were recognized grudgingly and tardily.

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Had he been as discreet, as he was valorous and martial, he would have been a Major-General in the early part of the Revolution, and might in that case have shortened the war which gave America its independence.

His wife was Mary Penrose, a daughter of Bartholomew Penrose, a Philadelphia merchant among whose descendants is the present Senator from Pennsylvania. The Keystone State contributed three heroic characters to the builders of the Republic. Franklin, the philosopher, Morris the financier, and Wayne the soldier make a trio of whom that commonwealth and the nation at large will never forget the service.

## ABRAHAM LINCOLN

*Born, February 12, 1809; Died, April 15, 1865.*

**I**N the mighty fabric of the Republic, which was raised in the eighteenth century, two vital mistakes were made by the builders. Although they intended to make a great nation, they omitted some of the ties which are necessary to hold a state together and although they called their work a Commonwealth based on liberty, they allowed negro slavery to remain as it was before they began their task. In all constructions by man the lines of strain and stress direct their force at the weakest point. Here is the deadly line of least resistance, and around it is born eventual ruin. The growing forces of the years tested each joint and stone of the Republic, and by degrees produced long and threatening fissures in the arches of Union and freedom. The fissures widened into gaping spaces, and the world looked on in wonder at the threatened dissolution of the Republic. Those who loved liberty and humanity despaired, while those who believed in privilege and caste threw their hats high in air. It looked indeed as if a government by and of the common people, the only one ever seen upon the earth, was about to pass away, and that in its stead were to spring up a series of disorganized and mutually antagonistic political communities. Yet with infinite appropriateness, out of the common people came a

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man, a greater builder than any who had preceded him, and with infinite patience, dauntless courage and majestic intellect, remedied the mistakes of his predecessors, stopped the process of ruin, and made the national edifice more beautiful and imposing than it had ever been before. He, the Master Builder, was Abraham Lincoln.

The story of his life is the story of the possibilities of humanity. He typified that manhood which starts in poverty and want, and by its intrinsic virtue rises until it attains the throne. His father was a poor carpenter, his mother the daughter of a western pioneer. Born in Kentucky, his family removed to Indiana when he was seven years of age and settled in the forest country near Little Pigeon Creek, in the Valley of the Ohio. The primitive home was far from civilization. The President described it as "a wild region with many bears and other wild animals still in the woods, and there were some schools so-called; but no qualification was ever required of the teacher beyond readin', writin', and cipherin' to the rule of three. If a straggler supposed to understand Latin happened to sojourn in the neighborhood, he was looked upon as a wizard. There was absolutely nothing to excite ambition for education."

The rugged life tended to consecrate all energy upon merely physical problems. Nevertheless through the community ran a strong moral and religious sentiment, and in the backwoods boy there was an insatiable love of knowledge. The material furnished by his school he worked over and reworked in order to obtain complete mastery of





**ABRAHAM LINCOLN**  
*From an etching by T. Johnson*

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the facts as well as mental discipline. Without any suggestion from others he began when a mere boy to write down in a note book his thoughts, discoveries and generalizations. The life, though hard, was healthful, and the youth grew into a giant man.

At maturity he was six feet four, with a strength like that of Milo of Crotona. The graces and accomplishments of life had been up to that time a sealed book. He was awkward, plain and uncouth, but even then he was gentle, kindly and courteous. His giant strength was never misapplied. All who knew him loved him and had confidence in his manhood. His life was uneventful, and was devoted to the rudest labor. Felling trees, splitting rails, chopping firewood, building cabins, clearing the soil and speeding the plough were his college-curriculum. When he had helped his father complete the farm, he left home and went into business on his own account. The work which came to him allowed him leisure, which he devoted to reading and study. It was after reaching his majority that he began English grammar, and started in a haphazard way the study of farm surveying and the law.

While at his books the news came of the Black Hawk war. Lincoln volunteered as a private soldier and was elected Captain. Hostilities were brief, his service lasting scarcely two months. On his return from the camp he became a candidate for the Illinois legislature, and made so brilliant a campaign in ten days as to come in the third out of twelve candidates. His popularity was exemplified by the vote of his neighbors, New Salem giving 277 for

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and 3 against him. Store-keeping was his next venture, but proved a failure. He worked at odd jobs, making enough money to supply his modest wants, and devoting all the rest of his time to legal studies. In 1834, he was again a candidate for the Assembly and was elected.

In legislation, he proved faithful to his constituents and re-election came to him in 1836, 1838 and 1840. In the meantime he had been admitted to the bar and had removed to Springfield, Illinois, where he formed a law partnership with John T. Stuart. He prospered both at the bar and in politics, becoming by degrees the chief Whig orator in Illinois. At the beginning, his oratory was simple, straightforward and strong, with but few marks of cultivation. But it steadily improved with time and practice. Quick perceptions, a powerful memory and steadfast reading were developing the man from day to day.

In 1846 he was elected to Congress, where he favored a bill for the emancipation of the slaves in the District of Columbia. On account of prevailing conditions, slavery and anti-slavery were tabooed topics at the time. There was a reign of terror throughout the land, which caused both those who favored and those who opposed the institution to keep silent on the subject. The moral cowardice displayed by those whom he knew to be in favor of human freedom disgusted the young Congressman who declined re-election upon the expiration of his term.

His action in Washington had stamped him for life. He was *persona non grata* with the pro-slavery leaders, and from that time on was blacklisted in their minds with the

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abolitionists of the land. In 1854 arose the tempest which followed the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. This measure, which threw open the territories to slavery, and threatened to make the United States a slave-holding Republic from Maine to Oregon, aroused every cell and fibre of Lincoln's being. Up to this point he had been a great whig lawyer and leader. Without knowing it he now became the Anti-Slavery champion.

In the campaign which followed, he was the chief orator of his party, and was pitted against Senator Stephen A. Douglass the leader of the State Democracy. Lincoln's friends almost carried the legislature, and named him as their candidate for senator to succeed General James Shields whose term of office was about to expire. There were four independent members who held the balance of power in the legislature, whose candidate was Judge Lyman Trumbull. Rather than have his State represented or misrepresented by a Pro-Slavery senator, Lincoln induced his friends to transfer their support to Trumbull, who was thereupon made Shields' successor. The action showed Lincoln's patriotism and love of liberty. Now came into being the new Republican party, which was formed from the Anti-Slavery elements of the old Whig and Democratic organizations.

In the birth of Republicanism, Lincoln was a prime factor, and became by general consent its leader in Illinois. In 1858 occurred the famous series of joint discussions between Lincoln and Douglass, the former attacking and the latter defending the doctrine of non-intervention with slavery in the territories. These debates aroused univer-

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sal notice. The Pro-slavery leaders of the South were irritated when they saw that slavery, which had been connived at for generations, was about to become an issue before the American public. The politicians of the old schools were dismayed because they realized that the introduction of this issue would sweep away the conventions and landmarks of a lifetime. The country was deeply interested, when for the first time anti-slavery was proclaimed by a man whose moral and mental grandeur had been already recognized by the Western States of the Union.

The importance of the contest was appreciated by all, and by none more than Lincoln himself. In his oration of June 16, 1858, he declared "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half-slave and half-free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved. I do not expect the House to fall; but I do expect that it will cease to be divided. It will become all the one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates will push it forward until it shall become alike lawful in all the States old as well as new, north as well as south."

It can be seen from this speech that Lincoln favored the extinction of slavery by gradual and peaceful means, acting under the operation of State and National law, and that he believed slavery to be impotent to bring the Union to an end. His opinion must have been prophetic, or perhaps based upon his confidence in the inexorableness of

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moral law in national as well as individual life. To the politicians and thinkers of that period the triumph of pro-slavery ideas seemed inevitable. These controlled Congress, the adjudications of the Supreme Court, the Democratic party and the wealthy classes of the land. With the slaveholders were the time-servers, the office-seekers and the mob in every city. With slavery were all the forces of hypocrisy and double-dealing. Liberty was a proscribed topic in the parlor, the newspaper and the pulpit. In fact a large part of both press and pulpit were outspoken in favor of the so-called righteousness of the human chattel system.

Though the Pro-Slavery forces were victorious in 1858, the victory cost them almost as much as defeat. It aroused the American people, who began organizing in a manner such as the country had never known before. Lincoln was an advocate of an educational campaign which would bring home to every citizen the vital importance of the new issues. On February 27, 1860, he delivered an address at the Cooper Institute in New York, which for scholarship and beauty was a masterpiece. He took up the long asserted claim that slavery was sacred, and had been deliberately and wisely made a part of the National Constitution by the founders of the Republic, and destroyed it with a learning that was magnificent, and a logic that was pitiless. He proved that nearly every one of the builders of the Republic, and of its great thinkers and writers, had opposed human bondage and had argued or prayed for its abolition. The speech, heard by cheering thousands, was read

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by approving millions, it being published in nearly every town and city of the land.

It did more than excite discussion, it impressed the American people with the tremendous personality of the speaker. When the National Republican convention met in Chicago in May of that year, his name was presented for the Presidency by the great delegations of the West. In this famous assemblage fate seems to have interfered with the plans of the politicians. The many slates which had been made in the cabinets of State leaders were broken and the names of Abraham Lincoln of Illinois and Hannibal Hamlin, the noble patriot of Bangor, Maine, were presented to the voters of the nation.

Even now the outlook was nearly hopeless. At the utmost the Republicans were in a minority, and the discussion now begun seemed destined to be transferred to the halls of Congress, where it might drag its slow length along for years to come. Again Fate intervened and split the opposition into conflicting factions. The American or Union party assembled and nominated Bell and Everett; the Democracy gathered at Charleston and split into two organizations, one naming Breckenridge and Lane and the other Douglass and Johnson. The canvass of the votes in November was unspeakably eloquent. Lincoln had received one million eight hundred thousand votes and the opposition two million eight hundred thousand votes. He was a minority President by a million votes, but through the majority being split upon three tickets, he had a plurality of five hundred thousand, and an electoral plurality of fifty-seven votes.





**THE FAVORITE CHAIR AND DESK OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN**

*Said to have been used by him in his law office*

THE V. S. ARMY  
OFFICE OF THE ADJUTANT GENERAL

WASHINGTON, D. C.  
1913

## ABRAHAM LINCOLN

The results of the election were immediate secession and war. Before he was inaugurated seven States had seceded and formed a new government and nation styled the Confederate States of America, with Jefferson Davis as President and Alexander H. Stevens as Vice-President. The Federal property in these Commonwealths was promptly seized, and more especially all the arms and munitions of war. A military organization was effected, and in Charleston harbor the South Carolinians fired upon the steamer, "Star of the West," which was conveying supplies to Fort Sumter.

War had begun, and both North and South awaited with eagerness the words of the new President. In his inaugural address he spoke with a calmness and serenity which will ever be memorable. His words were those of a prophet as well as a statesman. Declaring that the nation is not a league but a union, and that secession was illegal, he announced his intention of occupying all the places belonging to the Federal government and to perform the duties of his office in every State, South and North. As he closed he said, "We are not enemies but friends. Though passion may have strained it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched as surely they will be by the better angels of our nature."

On April 12, 1861, General Beauregard, in command of the Confederate forces at Charleston, S. C., opened fire

## BUILDERS OF THE REPUBLIC

upon Fort Sumter, and bombarded it for thirty-four hours, when the garrison, worn out and with the food supply exhausted was compelled to surrender. Up to this point, there had been hopes of peace; now hope vanished, and the North rose up for war. Lincoln called for seventy-five thousand troops, and three hundred thousand men volunteered. Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina and Tennessee seceded and joined the Confederacy.

The war rose to ever larger proportions, until it surpassed anything the earth had ever known. The hosts of Goth and Hun, Vandal and Teuton, Roman and Greek, were as playthings compared with those which were marshaled under the Stars and Stripes and the Stars and Bars. In single battles, more men were killed, wounded and captured than large historic armies. The legions of the North made a human wall from the Atlantic to the Mississippi and from the Mississippi to the Mexican border. Around the long coast of the South on both Atlantic and Gulf, patrolled the Northern navy of more than a thousand craft. The forces on land and sea amazed the world with their prodigious numbers.

It was more than war such as had been known by that name. It was not a quarrel over a territory, or an international question, but the life and death struggle between irreconcilable national forces. Legally it was nationality versus States-Rights; morally it was freedom versus slavery. Though the two issues in the main coincided yet here and there they swerved far apart. There were Pro-slavery men in the Northern army and Anti-slavery men in the South-

## ABRAHAM LINCOLN

ern. The house was divided against itself, father against son, and brother against brother. Of the fierceness, the unconquerable pertinacity, the immeasurable self-sacrifice, the infinite heroism and the amazing generalship of the struggle, nothing like it is to be found in the annals of the race. At least a million human beings gave up their lives while the cost was up in the billions.

During this long and terrible tragedy Lincoln was the genius of the North. To the preservation of the nation he consecrated his life, and dedicated every moment to the people. Though surrounded by a cabinet of extraordinary ability in both of his terms, he having been re-elected in 1864, he was the government. He kept in touch so far as he could with every part of the nation and with the foreign powers, who stood anxiously watching the contest. His soul was a well-spring of encouragement to the weak, praise to the brave, sympathy to the suffering, consolation to the afflicted and hope for the despairing. He cheered departing and welcomed returning troops, superintended the fortifying of the capital, looked into the welfare of camp, garrison and military prison and was from first to last a miracle of physical and intellectual activity.

In 1862 he struck a great blow at slavery by issuing the Emancipation Proclamation, which took effect on New Year's day, 1863. The time had become ripe for this measure. Prior to 1862 its issuance would have been a blunder of the worst sort. Old political associations ran strong, and a vast part of the North would not have listened to any proposition looking toward enfranchisement.

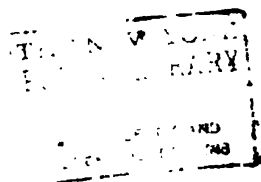
## BUILDERS OF THE REPUBLIC

Even now it was denounced at the North while in the South the Confederate Congress threatened death to any white officer captured when commanding or serving with Negro troops. But the denunciation met no response among the men grimed with battle, and the threats of the South fell upon the deaf ears of white and black alike. Before the year was done fifty thousand ex-slaves had been enrolled in the Union armies, and ere the close of the war the number had risen to two hundred thousand.

At last secession and slavery gave way. They had fought a fight whose heroism is immortal, but they had been crushed by the superior forces of the North. Behind the latter were greater influences invisible to mortal eyes. Long before the war was over, the South had been obliged to realize the false logic of its position. If the Confederacy had the right to secede from the Union, each Confederate State had in turn the right to secede from the Confederacy. Once this was threatened, and the answer from the Confederate leaders was the charge of treason. The American continent is concave and the people of the Mississippi valley must own and use that land under one government. There is no possibility of its being held by two. Slavery might be protected for years by law and custom, but it had become an anachronism, and in all crises was bound to weaken the land in which it prevailed. General Longstreet recognized the voice of destiny when he pointed out one day that the faithful slaves were of little benefit to the South while in the northern armies were tens of thousands of newly arrived free workingmen. On April 9th, at Ap-



PROCLAMATION OF EMANCIPATION  
*From the painting now hanging in the Capitol at Washington*





## ABRAHAM LINCOLN

pomattox, Major-General Robert Edward Lee, the great warrior of the South, surrendered to Major-General Ulysses S. Grant, and the most momentous war of history was closed.

The conflict over, Lincoln began forthwith to carry out a plan of reconciliation and mercy. The motto of the policy which he shaped might be summed up in the words of his sublime Gettysburg speech, "With malice toward none; with charity for all."

On the day after the fall of Richmond, he made a visit to the late Southern Capital, walked its streets unguarded and held a levee in the mansion of Jefferson Davis. Returning to Washington he resumed his work, looking forward to a reconstruction of the South which would put it speedily in a position to recover from the effects of the war. On April 14, 1865, the anniversary of the fall of Fort Sumter, he attended Ford's Theater, and while sitting in a box with his wife, was assassinated by John Wilkes Booth.

Majestic as it had become at the time of his death, his fame has increased steadily with each succeeding year. Unto no historical character in the New World, and perhaps the Old, has more study been devoted, and each inquiry has but served to reveal noble actions, lofty thoughts, and high ideals. In him the manly virtues of mind and soul were at a maximum. Possessing goodness and charity, wit and humor, analysis and synthesis, logic and knowledge of human nature, freedom from prejudice and bias, equanimity in all things, modesty and self-respect, kindness

## BUILDERS OF THE REPUBLIC

and yet dignity, he seems to have had none of the failings or shortcomings which so often mar the great men of history. He fills so large a place in human annals that he rises superior to mere words. In him American institutions had their fairest flower and their finest personal embodiment. Within and yet beyond the man was a spirituality rarely encountered in political life, which suggests the great poets, reformers and martyrs of the race, rather than the busy workers or the tireless statesmen. He was each and all of these, and in each phase of his character he presents a completeness which will never be forgotten.

The morning-glory gleams a few glad hours;  
The shafted lilies and the rosebud bowers  
Bloom a brief space and then dissolve away;  
But through the centuries an oak tree towers  
O'er all the rest of Nature's proud array.

As sails the mariner away from home,  
The silver shores recede beyond the foam;  
The meadows fade beneath the billows bleak,  
Till all that shows above the water's comb  
To say farewell is one lone massive peak.

The stars which smile in splendor from the skies  
To-night, are lost to-morrow to the eyes,  
Or else to galaxies unborn give place,—  
All but the Polar star which never flies  
But stands, the fitting symbol of our race.

## ABRAHAM LINCOLN

The heroes come and go and are forgot ;  
The tides of time submerge each well-loved spot,  
And faith and worship move to new-found stars  
Yet still one sacred figure changeth not,  
But groweth grander than its earthly bars—

The figure of the President who bore  
A Nation's burden both in peace and war,  
And never quailed beneath the heaviest load ;  
Who armed with love, broke open wide the door  
Which shut our land from liberty's abode ;

Who never lost his faith in fellow men,  
Nor love, though tempted often and again,  
Nor e'en his mirth, despite the hour's distress :  
Who rendered homage by the tongue and pen  
Unto the power which makes for righteousness.



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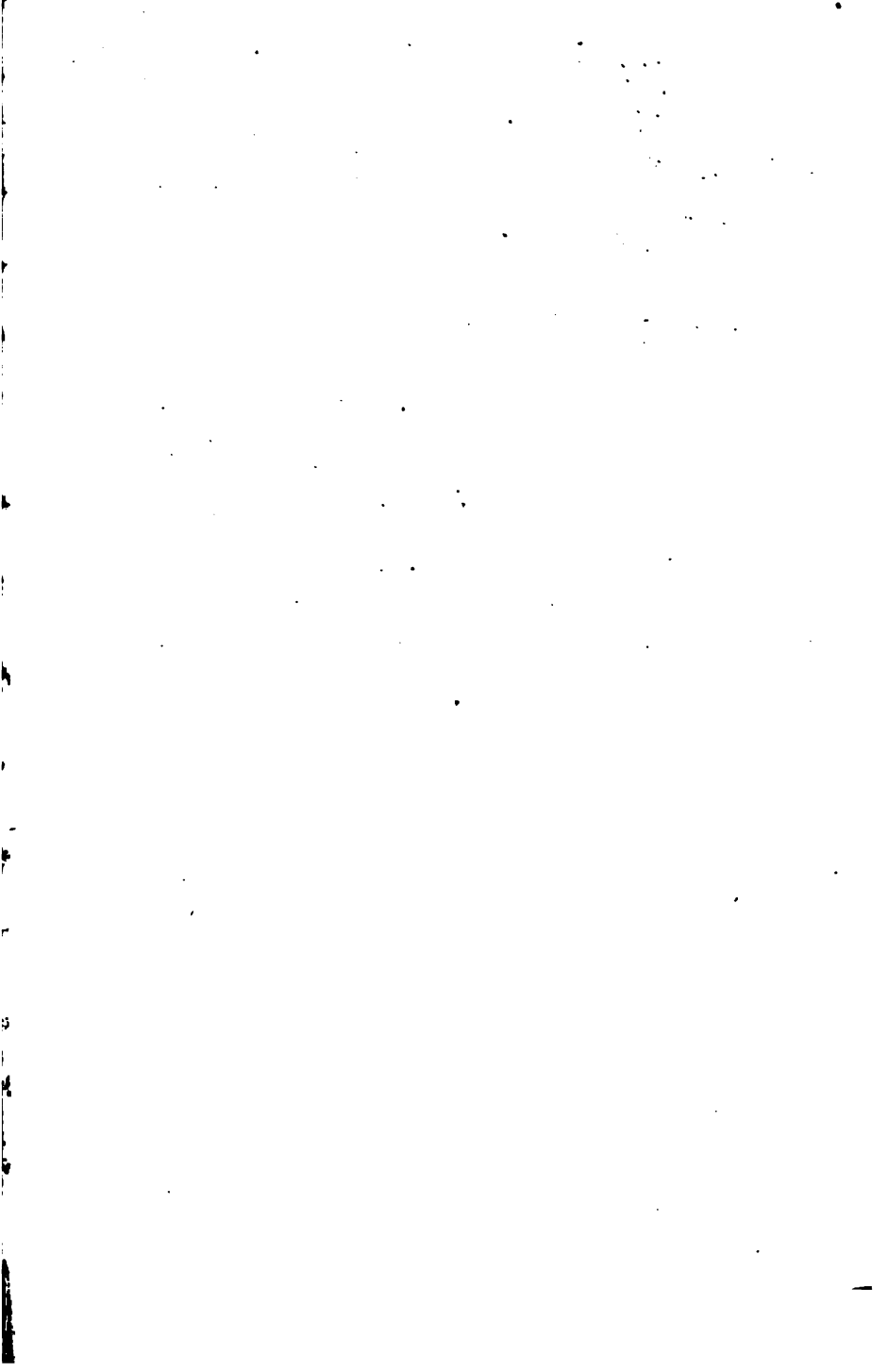
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